A GENERAL

HISTORY

OF

PRINTING;

FROM

The first INVENTION of it

IN THE

CITY of *MENTZ*,

TO ITS

PROPAGATION and PROGRESS

Thro' moſt of the

KINGDOMS in *EUROPE*:

PARTICULARLY

The INTRODUCTION and SUCCESS of it here in

ENGLAND.

WITH THE

CHARACTERS of the moſt celebrated PRINTERS,

From the firſt INVENTORS of this ART to the Years 1520 and 1550.

ALSO

An ACCOUNT of their WORKS,

And of the conſiderable IMPROVEMENTS which they made during that Time.

By *S. PALMER*, PRINTER.

LONDON,

Printed for A. BETTESWORTH, C. HITCH, and C. DAVIS in *Pater-noſter-row*. MDCCXXXIII.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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PREFACE.

AS *it is very natural and commendable for every man to be ever inquiring after any diſcovery or improvement that may be uſeful to his profeſſion, and to communicate it to the publick, I am willing to hope that the care and pains, the time and expence I have beſtow'd on the following Hiſtory, will be approv'd by every one who conſiders the nature, uſe and extent of it; and the rather, becauſe nothing has been yet publiſh'd, at leaſt in* Engliſh, *on the ſubject of* PRINTING, *ſo methodical and comprehenſive either in the* Hiſtorical *or* Practical *part of it. As to the Hiſtory, I could not, without ſome regret, obſerve that we had nothing in our own language but ſome few fragments diſpers'd in ſeveral Authors, who only ſpoke of it occaſionally, whilſt ſo many* Italians, Germans *and* French *had wrote ſo copiouſly upon it, and* ex profeſſo. *Tho' even theſe ſeem rather to have had a view to the introduction and progreſs of the Art in their reſpective countries, than to the diſplaying of its excellency and improvements. Neither did I find that any of them had given ſo particular a Hiſtory of the Invention and Inventors, or ſo general a one of its progreſs and promulgation through* Europe, *and beyond it, as I could have wiſh'd, or as I thought might be compiled.*

However, neither theſe conſiderations, nor the diſcoveries I had made from ſome ancient and valuable editions I met with in ſome of our noble libraries, nor even the examples of ſeveral men of my profeſſion abroad, who have writ largely on both the ſubjects, could have prevail'd upon me to have undertaken this Hiſtorical *part, which I knew deſerved a much better pen. The* Practical *being more within my province, my ambition reached no higher than to have publiſhed ſuch a compleat ſyſtem of it, from the helps I had received from Mr.* Fertel *and Mr.* Jn. Andr. Endters, (*two eminent Printers, the firſt at St.* Omer's, *and the other at* Nuremberg, *who have publiſhed two curious treatiſes of it*) *and from my own obſervations and improvements on them; as few of my profeſſion would have fail'd of being the better for in ſome branch or other of the Art. And I could with the utmoſt pleaſure have communicated all the other diſcoveries which I had occaſionally made, to any perſon that would have been at the pains of writing this Hiſtory. But when I diſcover'd my deſign, I found, to my ſurpriſe, that the Practical part would not meet with that encouragement and approbation I expected, particularly from thoſe for whoſe benefit and improvement I had chiefly deſign'd it, tho' the publick could not but have been the better for it, by having much better and neater impreſſions than are generally done.*

Upon this account my friends and patrons perſuaded me to alter my Deſign, and to ſuſpend the Practical part, till the Hiſtorical, which they preſs'd me alſo to undertake, had in ſome meaſure made way for it. Purſuant therefore to this new plan, I reſolved to ſpare neither coſt nor pains to get a ſight, or at leaſt a certain intelligence of all the Old editions that were valuable either for their antiquity, elegancy, or for any light they could give me into this Hiſtory, and to add my own ob-

obſervatious upon them, not only as an hiſtorian, but more eſpecially as a PRINTER. *The Reader will find, by the ſequel, that none but one of that profeſſion, and one that is well vers'd in thoſe old ancient works can form a right judgment of them; and this is the reaſon that ſo many of them have been miſtaken for Manuſcripts, or have been ſuppoſed to have been printed upon wooden blocks, even by perſons otherwiſe very learned and judicious, whereas it is even demonſtrable that they were done by ſeparate metal types.*

My next care was to read over all that has been writ hitherto upon the ſubject, eſpecially by the judicious Malinkrot, *by* De la Caille, Chevilier, Endters, P. Pater, Orlandi, *and by the learned Mr.* Maittaire, *from all whom the Reader will find I have received no ſmall helps, and which I do here gladly acknowledge; and if I have at any time ventured to diſſent from them, I hope he will find my opinion back'd with ſufficient authority; but where that could not be obtained, I have contented myſelf with leading the Reader to the moſt probable ſide. And it is with no ſmall pleaſure that I have found one or two of my conjectures ſince confirm'd by the diſcovery of ſome latent pieces, which were not known to them. They had indeed acceſs to the moſt celebrated Libraries of their own countries, but this Hiſtory will convince them that all that is valuable and curious is not confined to them, and that we have many as nobly and richly furniſh'd in our own as any in theirs.*

And here I ſhould be extremely ungrateful, if I did not take this opportunity of acknowledging the great helps and curious informations I have been favour'd with by ſeveral of the Patrons and Encouragers of this work, as well as my great obligations to the Right Honourable the Earls of Pembroke *and* Oxford, *to whom I am proud to own myſelf beholden (but more eſpecially*

to the former,) for all the diſcoveries which this Hiſtory has above any other extant. My free acceſs to thoſe two Libraries, as well as to thoſe of my very good friends Dr. Mead, *Dr.* Rawlinſon, *Mr.* Richardſon, *and others, beſides ſome of our publick ones, ſuch as thoſe of* Oxford, Cambridge, *and of the* Middle Temple, *have afforded me the ſatisfaction of ſeeing many of thoſe ſcarce editions, which have been mention'd by moſt Annaliſts, if we except Mr.* Maittaire, *either from Catalogues or hear-ſay. And here I gladly take this opportunity of returning my thanks to theſe learned Correſpondents, who have favour'd me with any curious intelligence from thoſe Libraries, which my Buſineſs and the bad ſtate of health, would not permit me to viſit.*

The order of this Hiſtory is as follows.

The firſt book contains an account of the Diſcovery and Inventors of the Art, whether really ſuch, or only pretended, with remarks on their firſt tryals upon Blocks, and their firſt editions.

The ſecond book treats of the promulgation of PRINTING *into all the ſeveral cities and places in* Europe, *and the improvements made to it by the moſt eminent Printers down to* An. 1520.

The third gives an account of its firſt introduction into England, *its riſe and progreſs in ſeveral cities, towns and monaſteries; with the characters and works of the moſt famous* Engliſh *Printers to* an. 1550, *a fuller account of all which may be ſeen in the following* Table of CONTENTS.

This Performance I entirely ſubmit to the approbation or cenſure of the curious and candid, as it ſhall deſerve. And I ſhall gain the main end I propos'd, if what I have done ſhall contribute to ſome more full and elaborate productions of this nature.

Thus

Thus far Mr. PALMER's *Preface* to the Hiſtorical part, as to what relates to the Practical, we need not trouble the Reader with it here. What the Author deſign'd to treat of in it, may be ſeen by the *Table of Contents* prefix'd to the firſt Number of this work. In this Table he will likewiſe find ſeveral particulars which were promis'd to be added to this Hiſtory, but which we have been obliged to omit, either for want of materials, or becauſe they were not thought ſo neceſſary to this work by the promoters of it. Of the firſt ſort was the *Hiſtory of Printing* in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; concerning the former of which we can add nothing to the ſhort account which was printed at *Edenburgh* by Mr. *Watſon* the King's Printer there; and as for *Ireland* we are ſtill more in the dark for want of Memoirs. Mr. PALMER had likewiſe promis'd the Prints of the *Rebus's* of all the foreign eminent PRINTERS, but, as he had not got them cut before his death, and has given an account of them at the end of their works, it was thought that charge might as well be ſpared; ſo that we have only added thoſe which were uſed by the moſt conſiderable ones of our own nation. His liſt of the moſt excellent PRINTERS from 1500 to this time; the ſeveral acts for regulating the Preſs, and for ſecuring the property of Copies, being left very imperfect, the charge of finiſhing them was likewiſe thought unneceſſary; for which reaſon they are alſo omitted.

All that needs be added with regard to his Practical part, is, that, as it was intended to have been printed firſt, the Author has left it in ſuch perfect order, that, if the Publick will be pleaſed to encourage it, an Edition may be eaſily printed from his Manuſcript. 'Twere needleſs to tell the world how fit he was for ſuch a work, what pains he has taken, and what improvements he made to it; thoſe who knew Mr. PALMER will think it ſufficient to ſay that the ſubject is the *Art of Printing*, and he the Author of it.

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A GENERAL
Hiſtory of Printing:

BOOK I.

Of its Origin, Improvement and Progreſs by JOHN FAUST from 1440. to 1462.

CHAP. I.

An Enquiry into the Riſe of Printing.

MY deſign is to give an hiſtorical account of the authors, diſcovery, improvement and progreſs of the Art of Printing; an Art ſo highly beneficial to mankind, by preſerving and tranſmitting to poſterity the treaſures of antient and modern learning, that its original has been eſteem'd divine. I ſhall begin with a previous enquiry into the cauſes and concurrent circumſtances, which excited the inventors of it to a diſcovery, that might anſwer this end, with more expedition and exactneſs, than *Tranſcribing*, the only method known before.

THE world at this time began to recover from a ſtate of ignorance, under which it had labour'd many centuries; learning reviv'd, and was patroniz'd in almoſt every country of *Europe*; its votaries exerted a laudable zeal in ſearching the libraries for thoſe valuable books, which had lain buried in obſcurity, and were become extremely ſcarce, great numbers being loſt in the times of ignorance. Manuſcripts were procur'd and multiplied; but the price of them was ſuch, that none but men of fortune could purchaſe them: 120 crowns for a *Livy*, and 80 crowns for three volumes of *Plutarch*'s Lives *, was then a moderate price: a few manuſcripts were thought a portion worthy a nobleman's daughter; and one or two intitled the donor and his poſterity to the perpetual prayers of a monaſtery: nay kings themſelves diſdain'd not the office of procuring them for their learned friends, as appears from a letter of *Antoninus Bocatellus*, ſirnam'd *Panormus*, to *Alphonſus* king of *Naples* and *Sicily* †; and an old *manuſcript hebrew bible* was a preſent from the Emperor *Frederick* III. to *Reuchlin*, who was ſent embaſſador to him. *Paulus Jovius* relates a pleaſant ſtory of one *Jaſon Mainus*, a ſtudent of *Pavia*, whoſe extravagance having brought him to a goal was oblig'd to depoſit a manuſcript *Codex Juris* on parchment, into the hands of an uſurer, in order to procure his enlargement: *Petrarch*'s rhetoric maſter likewiſe, by pledging two volumes of *Cicero*'s works, ſav'd himſelf from a priſon.

As this exceſſive price tempted ſome to purchaſe eſtates by the ſale of their books, and exchange learning for money; ſo the learned at that time freely parted with their wealth to procure thoſe invaluable remains of antiquity, out of a generous deſign to communicate them to the world.

THE Tranſcribers now had a favourable opportunity of enriching themſelves, which they might have enjoy'd much longer, had not they (poſſeſs'd with the moſt mercenary views) done an incredible, and in ſome caſes ir-

* De tribus voluminibus PLUTARCHI in quibus parallela viginti quatuor continentur, titulos ſumpſit, ut mones; pretium minus LXXX aureis eſſe non poteſt, &c. *Papiens.* p. 114. vet. edit.

† Significaſti mihi nuper ex Florentia extare TITI LIVII opera vænalia, libros pulcherrimos; libro pretium eſſe CXX aureos. Quare majeſtatem tuam oro, ut LIVIUM, quem regem librorum appellare conſuevimus, emi nomine meo, ac venire ad nos facias; interim ego pecuniam procurabo, quam pro libri pretio tradam, Sed illud a prudentia tua ſciae deſidero, uter ego an Pegnius melius fecerit; is, ut villam Florentiæ emeret, LIVIUM vendidit, quem ſua manu pulcherrime ſcripſerat; ego, ut LIVIUM emam, fundum proſcripſi. Hæc ut familiariter a te peterem, ſuaſit humanitas & modeſtia tua. Vale & triumpha. *Epiſtol.* lib. 5.

recoverable

recoverable damage to learning, by mutilating and corrupting the beſt authors: hence ariſe thoſe frequent complaints againſt their negligence and ignorance, which have coſt the learned an infinite deal of labour to remedy: to evince this the following inſtance will ſuffice.

JOHN ANDREAS, biſhop of *Aleria*, one of the greateſt criticks of that age, tells Pope *Paul* II. in his dedication prefix'd to *Pliny*'s *Natural Hiſtory**, printed at *Rome* in the houſe of the *Maximis* by *Panaratz* and *Sweynheim*, *anno* 1470, that tho' he had ſpent nine whole years in correcting that author; yet ninety more would not compleat a correct edition. This demonſtrates what difficulties the republick of learning encounter'd with at it's revival; namely, the ſcarcity and exceſſive price of books, and the ſordidneſs of the Tranſcribers, from whoſe hands they came ſo maim'd and incorrect, that the great Printer *Stephens* truly ſaid, *they were a plague to the purchaſer*. Theſe were motives ſufficient to excite the Inventors of this Art to a diſcovery ſo beneficial to the world, and of ſuch honour and advantage to themſelves: who thoſe excellent perſons were, and where it was made, will come under our enquiry in its proper place. And here the reader will find juſt cauſe of wonder, that this Art, which has been ſtiled the nurſe and preſerver of arts and ſciences, ſhould (if I may uſe the expreſſion) be ſo forgetful of itſelf, as not to leave us the leaſt ſketch of its own hiſtory, the inventors being *more ambitious of deſerving, than of purchaſing praiſe*. Some light indeed we receive in this affair from a few inſcriptions uſed by *Fauſt* at the end of his firſt printed books, to this purpoſe. *This preſent work, with all its embelliſhments,* &c. *was done, not with pen and ink,* &c. *but by a new invented Art of caſting Letters, Printing,* &c. *by me* John Fauſt *and my ſon-in-law* Peter Schoeffer *in the famous city of* Mentz *upon the* Rhine, *anno* ——: but recourſe muſt be had to the writers of thoſe times for the hiſtory of this Invention. Many cities have contended for the glory of it, and engaged the learned in defence of their claim; but thoſe on the ſide of *Harlem* have manag'd the controverſy with great warmth, and charged *Fauſt* the Inventor with robbing his ſuppoſed maſter *Laurence John Coſter* of many thouſand weight of his materials, on Chriſtmas-Eve, when the whole family and city were in prayer at church; with other ſuch ridiculous ſtories, invented meerly to deprive this *Great Man* of the honour, which he had ſo

* In nonum annum premi non potuit emendatio, ne futura quidem exacta poſt nonageſimum.

long inconteſtably enjoy'd. Had this been publiſh'd in his life-time, when he might have defended himſelf, or preſently after his death, when his ſon-in-law or ſome of his friends might have done it for him, he had undoubtedly been clear'd ; but ſuch an accuſation was not hinted till 125 years after, and then grounded only on ſuſpicion, as Dr. *Junius* owns *, who was the firſt that attempted to transfer this Diſcovery from *Mentz* to *Harlem*. However *Fauſt*'s name died not with him, tho' ſome *Dutch* writers made uſe of *his art* to aſperſe his memory : and others of ſeveral nations roſe immediately in his defence ; in particular the learned *Malincrot*, dean of *Munſter*, in his treatiſe *De Ortu & Progreſſu Artis Typographicæ*, has not only refuted what was advanc'd on the other ſide, but made ſuch reſearches after the old monuments of the Art, and collected ſo great a variety of teſtimonies, ſupported by undeniable facts, as ſeem at once to determine the controverſy. *Boxhorn* indeed attempted an anſwer ; but whoever reads it over, cannot but be convinc'd, that an over-fondneſs for his country's honour has made him deaf to the moſt evident demonſtrations of his antagoniſt. However as he and his followers, have given up the point as to ſeparate Metal Types in favour of *John Fauſt*, and lay claim only to the invention of *Printing on Blocks of Wood*, which they affirm to have been ſtoln from *Coſter* by *Fauſt*, whoſe next invention they would have to be only an improvement of the former ; I ſhall give the reader an idea of both, and ſhew the difference between thoſe firſt eſſays of Printing, and that perfect one, which ſucceeded and continues to this day.

CHAP. II.

An Account of the different Manners of Printing by Blocks of Wood, *and* ſeparate Metal Types.

TIS agreed by moſt writers on this ſubject, that about the year 1440, ſeveral attempts were made by ſome perſons, with vaſt expence and labour, which prov'd abortive ; but that the diſcovery of ſeparate Metal Types was not brought to perfection till about the year 1450. We find that their firſt eſſays were by carving or cutting letters with a ſharp-pointed knife upon Blocks of Wood, each Block containing a page or one ſide of a leaf ; that inſtead of the common

* Ut fert ſuſpicio.

Ink,

Ink, which is the ſort they firſt us'd, they invented a more glutinous one which ſucceeded better, being leſs apt to ſpread; that they paſted the two white ſides of each leaf together, to make them look like ſingle leaves: but of this I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly in ſome of the following chapters. In the mean time I ſhall endeavour to demonſtrate that this invention has not that merit for ingenuity, uſefulneſs, or novelty, which the *Dutch* writers boaſt of.

WITH reſpect to the firſt, the only requiſites are a tolerable genius, ſharp tools, and a good copy: as to its uſefulneſs, the only advantage reſulting from it, is, that whatever the book be, the forms remain intire, ſo that as many editions as the author pleaſes may be printed without the expence of a new compoſition; but on the other hand, if we conſider that thoſe forms are of no uſe to any other work, and the time and expence in cutting them very great, with the great ſpace ſo many Pages of Wood muſt take up, we ſhall perceive the neceſſity of inventing moveable Metal Types: But farther, this method of Printing was far from being novel, it is even demonſtrable from authentick teſtimonies to have been practis'd in *China* and *Japan*, above four centuries before it was known in *Europe*: it is not eaſy, I grant, to prove that we receiv'd it from them, becauſe of their vaſt diſtance, and the little commerce between us before the year 1440: yet there is no impoſſibility, but that it might have been brought us by ſome merchant either by the way of *Muſcovy* or the *Red-Sea*, the *Perſian Gulph* or *Arabia*: of which opinion I could mention many authors. *Gonzala de Mendoſa*, in his hiſtory of the *Marvels of China*, written in Spaniſh, Book III. Chap. 16; and *Martin Martini* in his *Atlas Sinenſis*, tell us, that they could prove by good arguments, that the Invention of *Guns*, of the *Loadſtone* and *Printing* was known to us by their means. What adds to the probability of my conjecture is, that the *Chineſe* to this day ſend with their goods, printed papers in the manner of our ſhop-keepers hand-bills, ſeveral of which I have ſeen; and 'tis not impoſſible but the hint of Printing on Blocks of Wood might have been taken this way.

WHOEVER has a juſt idea of the genius of the *Chineſe* and *Japoneſe*, will own their capacity to have invented the method of Printing with ſeparate types, if their manner of writing had admitted it; but as they are known to write, not with letters, as other nations, but with characters, each of which

which ſtands for a whole word; and that the number of thoſe characters amount at leaſt to 10,000, (tho' ſome authors reckon above 40,000); it would be impoſſible to have caſes large enough to contain 'em, beſides the inſuperable difficulty of diſtinguiſhing and retaining them in memory. To return from this digreſſion, let us now take a ſhort view of the other new and more expeditious method.

If we duely conſider it in all its branches, it will evidently appear the reſult of no ſmall ſtudy, time and coſt. The cutting the counter-punches and punches and ſinking them into the matrices, the adjuſting them to the mould, that curious piece of mechaniſm, for caſting ſingle letters; the difficulty of the whole manual operation of Letter-founding: in the Printing, the diſpoſition of the caſes, the curious contrivance of the ſeveral parts of the work between the compoſitors, correctors and preſs-men, *&c.* add to all this the fine invention of the Printing-preſs, ſo admirable for its mechanical fabrick, together with the curious apparatus neceſſary for a Printing-houſe, for an explication of whoſe terms we muſt refer to the ſecond volume of this work: theſe are things which require a genius vaſtly ſuperior to deviſe, better hands to execute, greater forecaſt to obviate, and readineſs to remedy all unexpected defects, more time and patience to go thro' all its various parts, more reſolution to overcome all difficulties, and laſtly the expences neceſſary to this invention vaſtly larger than thoſe of the former; and conſequently we ſhall be far from thinking an interval of ten years too long, but rather admire that ſuch a prodigious deſign could be contriv'd and perfected in ſo ſhort a time.

What has been ſaid on this head, will ſufficiently demonſtrate the diſparity between theſe two methods, and convince the reader how much the former is inferior in every reſpect to the latter; nay, if we dare rely on the judgment of the learned, we ſhould ſcarce think it worthy the name of Printing, ſince it has nothing common with it except the ink; and even a rowler, cover'd with cloath, would ſupply the place of a preſs to print their Pages of Wood.

Now whether it be *Fauſt* or *Coſter*, who practis'd this method on wood firſt, whether *Mentz*, *Harlem*, or any other city, gave it firſt encouragement; whether the afore-nam'd perſons had the hint from *China*, or happen'd on it accidentally, (tho' if we admit of the latter ſuppoſition, *Fauſt* and *Mentz* have the better title); this muſt be granted from what has been

been ſaid, that by Printing we do not underſtand the method of Printing on Blocks of Wood claim'd by *Harlem*, but the preſent Art of Printing by ſeparate Metal Types, which is ſo juſtly admir'd for its expeditious and correct way of preſerving and propagating knowledge; and to which we owe the improvements made in moſt arts and ſciences for near three centuries paſt.

HENCE it appears how little reaſon the *Dutch* writers have to value themſelves upon an imaginary victory, which, were it granted in its fulleſt extent, would be deſpicable in compariſon of the other. Yet *Boxhorn* in his *Theatrum Hollandiæ*, page 142. places his hero *Coſter* in a kind of triumphal chariot, dragging his vanquiſh'd enemies the *Germans* and *French* after him, with a pompous inſcription, which I think worthy the curious readers notice *. He exults as if every ſentence in that book was demonſtration, and impoſes an eternal ſilence on all thoſe nations, which have appear'd in defence of *Mentz*, in a ſtanza of ſhort verſes after the manner of *Claudian*, which for its ſingularity is likewiſe here quoted †. However, I perſwade my ſelf that two or three of the following chapters will convince us of the vanity of theſe triumphs, unleſs this piece of divinity and poetry compos'd by *Scriverius* ſhall alter our ſentiments; it contains four verſes, to be plac'd under *Coſter*'s ſtatue, and cited in the *Theatrum Holland.* abovementioned p. 156 *. I ſhall only inform the *Engliſh* reader, that the author of them pronounces it as rank atheiſm to deny *Coſter* the glory of this invention, as to deny God that of the creation. I ſhall now leave *Harlem* and the *Dutch* writers, and paſs over to the city

* Quem
Flos urbium,
HARLEMUM
Patritia familia edidit.
LAURENTIO COSTERO,
Qui incredibili & prope inhumana
Ingenii felicitate,
Moguntinis nequidquam negantibus
&
Gallis fruſtra obſtrepentibus,
ARTEM TYPOGRAPHICAM
Primus invenit,
MONUMENTUM
hoc
L. M. P. Q.
Typis
Poſuimus.

† Serrarii libelli,
Streperi tacete Galli;
Taceat ſonorus autor.
Solus ovantem Batavus
Emeditatus artem.
Hæc vox ætheriis inſonet axibus,
Hæc vox per populos, per mare tranſeat;
HARLEMUS Typicam prodidit artifex.

* Vana quid archetypos & præla *Moguntia* jactas?
Harlemi archetypos prælaque nata ſcias.
Extulit hic, monſtrante deo, *Laurentius* artem:
Diſſimulare virum hunc, diſſimulare deum eſt.

of

of *Mentz*, to examine the teſtimonies brought in favour of her, after having return'd *Boxhorn* four lines from a learned *Italian* poet, who may be ſuppos'd a more impartial witneſs in this controverſy *.

CHAP. III.

Teſtimonies of writers from the middle of the 15th *century in favour of* John Fauſt.

MALINCROT hath collected the teſtimonies of writers on either ſide of the controverſy, from the promulgation of the art to the time in which he wrote. *viz. ann.* 1640. and rang'd them in the beginning of his book in the following order.

Thoſe who declar'd for *Mentz*, before the diſpute was ſtarted by Dr. *Junius*, and quoted by him in that work	62
Thoſe, who have written on the ſame ſide ſince *Junius*	47
	109
Thoſe who have written in favour of *Harlem*	13
Thoſe who are neuters	11

BY this liſt 'tis manifeſt where the advantage lies as to numbers, but leſt ſo many teſtimonies ſhould be thought tedious, it will not we hope be improper to ſelect the moſt conſiderable, eſpecially from thoſe authors, who wrote ſoon after the diſcovery, and were better acquainted with this matter, than thoſe who liv'd any time after it, and may be juſtly ſuppos'd to have follow'd their predeceſſors. But I would therefore avoid, as much as poſſible, clogging or interrupting the thread of this hiſtory. I ſhall only extract the moſt material authorities out of them, and in ſuch a manner as ſhall be conſiſtent with it, by inſerting the paſſages themſelves in the notes, that the reader may uſe his pleaſure either in reading or omitting them.

* Abſtulerat *Latio* multos *Germania* libros;
Nunc multo plures reddidit ingenio:
Et quod vix toto quiſquam perſcriberet anno,
Munere *Germanico* conficit una dies.
Laur. Valla.

HOWEVER

BUT before I proceed any farther, it will be neceſſary to obviate an objection, that will infallibly occur to the reader's mind; which is, that in mentioning the firſt inventors of printing in the two preceding chapters, I have not ſo much as nam'd *John Guttenbergh*: whereas the greateſt part of the authors, whom we are about to quote, place him in the firſt rank, and mention only the other two as co-adjutors to him. In anſwer to this it will be ſufficient for the preſent to ſay, that the ſequel of this Hiſtory will ſhew that *Guttenbergh* had no other ſhare in this invention, than by furniſhing the other two with neceſſary ſupplies to defray the great charges of it; and that the authors of the *Mentz* and *Cologn* Chronicle, whom the reſt ſeem to have follow'd in this, as alſo the learned antiquary *Trithemius*, have certainly confounded *Guttenbergh* with *Fauſt*, that is, miſtook the one for the other, as will hereafter appear in its proper place.

OF all the authors, to whom the world is indebted for a particular account of this Diſcovery, Abbot *Trithemius* juſtly claims the pre-eminence, both upon the account of his living neareſt the time of this diſcovery, which he tells us happen'd in his younger years [1], as well as for his care to derive his intelligence from its origin. We have two noble teſtimonies out of his Chronicle; the one from the firſt part, intitled *Chronicon Spanheimenſe*, where[2] ſpeaking of the year 1450 he ſays; „ That about „ this time the Art of Printing and Caſting Single Types was found out „ *a-new* in the city of *Mentz* by one *John Guttenberg*, who having ſpent „ his whole eſtate in this difficult diſcovery, by the aſſiſtance and advice „ of ſome honeſt men, *John Fauſt* and others, brought his undertaking „ at length to perfection: that the firſt Improver of this Art, after the In- „ ventor, was *Peter Schoeffer* (in Latin *Opilio*) *de Gernſheim*, who after- „ wards printed a great many volumes: that the ſaid *Guttenberg* liv'd „ at *Mentz* in a houſe call'd then **Zum-jungher**, but afterward known „ by the name of the *Printing Houſe*. " But leſt the reader ſhould be

[1] Tempore infantiæ meæ apud *Moguntiam*, &c. *Trith. Epiſt. Fam. Epiſt.* 48.

[2] His quoque temporibus ars imprimendi & characterizandi libros, de novo reperta eſt in civitate *Moguntina* per quendam civem, qui *Johannes Guttenberg* dicebatur: qui cum omnem ſubſtantiam propter nimiam difficultatem inventionis novæ in eam perficiendam expoſuiſſet, conſilio & auxilio bonorum virorum *Johannis Fuſt* & aliorum adjutus, rem inceptam perfecit. Primus autem hujus artis dilator fuit, poſt ipſum inventorem, *Petrus Opilio de Gernſheim*, qui multa volumina ſuo tempore impreſſit. Morabatur autem præfatus *J. Guttenberg Moguntiæ* in domo Zumjungher, quæ domus uſque in præſentem diem illius novæ artis nomine noſcitur inſignita. *Chronic. Spanheim.* ad ann. 1450.

ſtartled at the word *a-new (de novo)* it will be requiſite to acquaint him that *Trithemius* was in all probability of the ſame opinion with ſome other writers, who from a paſſage of St. *Cyprian* miſunderſtood, wherein the invention of Printing (by which is meant no more than that of ſtamping of Letters and Hieroglyphicks upon Medals, Coins, &c.) is attributed to *Saturn*, took occaſion to reckon it among the *artes perditæ*, and conſequently eſteem'd this rather a revival of the art than a new diſcovery; but he ſufficiently retracts that error in the next paſſage we ſhall quote from him, which was not wrote till many years after, and that from a more diligent enquiry into the diſcovery and merit of this new, and *till then unheard of*, *Art*; for this will appear from his words as you will ſee immediately.

THIS next paſſage, which is fuller, and for its ſingularity and deciſiveneſs deſerves to be ſet down at length, is taken out of the ſecond part of *Trithemius*'s Chronicle, intitled *Chronicon Hirſaugienſe*. This book was unknown to the learned till the year 1690. when the *Benedictins* of the monaſtery of St. *Gall* in *Switzerland* beg'd leave to publiſh it from the original manuſcript, which had lain hid all that time. The Abbot wrote this towards the cloſe of his life, after he had been inform'd of many particulars, relating to this invention, from the mouth of *Peter Schoeffer* (in *Engliſh*, *Shepherd*) ſirnam'd *de Gernſheim*, to whom *Fauſt*, for the many helps he had receiv'd from him, namely, in deviſing Punches, Matrices, and Moulds for caſting their Metal Types (in which the main perfection of the Art conſiſted) gave his only daughter *Chriſtina* in marriage, and from a ſervant took him into partnerſhip with him, as appears by the inſcriptions to the firſt books publiſh'd by them, of which we have given a sketch already. The paſſage is as follows [1]. „ About this time (*ann.*

[1] His temporibus in civitate *Moguntina Germaniæ* prope *Rhenum*, & non in *Italia*, ut quidam falſo ſcripſerant, inventa & excogitata eſt ars illa mirabilis, & prius inaudita imprimendi & characterizandi libros per *Johannem Guttenberg* civem Moguntinum, qui cum omnem pene ſubſtantiam ſuam pro inventione hujus artis expoſuiſſet, & nimia difficultate laborans, jam in iſto, jam in illo deficeret, jamque prope eſſet ut deſperatus negotium intermitteret, conſilio tandem & impenſis *Johannis Fuſt* æque civis Moguntini, rem perfecit incœptam. Imprimis igitur characteribus literarum in tabulis ligneis per ordinem ſcriptis, formiſque compoſitis, vocabularium, *Catholicon* nuncupatum, impreſſerunt; ſed cum iiſdem formis nihil aliud potuerunt imprimere, eo quod characteres non fuerunt amovibiles de tabulis, ſed inſculpti, ſicut diximus. Poſt hæc inventis ſucceſſerunt ſubtiliora, inveneruntque modum fundendi formas omnium *Latini* Alphabeti literarum, quas ipſi matrices nominabant; ex quibus rurſum æneos ſive ſtanneos characteres fundebant ad omnem preſſuram ſufficientes, quos prius manibus ſculpebant: & revera, ſi uti ante triginta ferme annos ex ore *Petri Opilionis de Gernſheim* civis Moguntini, *qui gener erat primi artis inventoris*, audivi, magnam a primo inventionis

„ 1450.)

„ 1450.) in the city of *Mentz* in *Germany* upon the *Rhine*, and not in
„ *Italy*, as ſome writers falſly affirm'd, the wonderful and *till then un-*
„ *known Art* of Printing Books by Metal Types [*characterizandi*] was in-
„ vented and devis'd by *John Guttenberg*, citizen of *Mentz*; who having
„ almoſt exhauſted his whole eſtate in contriving of this new Method, and
„ labouring under ſuch inſuperable difficulties, in one reſpect or other,
„ that he began to deſpair of, and to throw up the whole deſign; was
„ at length aſſiſted with the advice and purſe of *John Fauſt*, another ci-
„ tizen of *Mentz*, and happily brought it to perfection. Having there-
„ fore begun with cutting characters of the letters upon wooden planks,
„ in their right order, and compleated their forms, they printed the vo-
„ cabulary intitled *Catholicon*; but could make no farther uſe of thoſe
„ forms, becauſe there was no poſſibility of ſeparating the letters, which
„ were engraven on the planks, as we hinted before. To this ſucceeded
„ a more ingenious invention; for they found out a way of ſtamping the
„ ſhapes of every letter of the *Latin* Alphabet, in what they call Matri-
„ ces, from which they afterwards caſt their letters, either in copper or
„ tin, hard enough to be printed upon, which they firſt cut with their
„ own hands. It is certain this art met with no ſmall difficulties from
„ the beginning of its invention, as I heard 30 years ago from the mouth
„ of *Peter Schoeffer de Gernſheim*, citizen of *Mentz*, and *Son-in-law to the*
„ *firſt Inventor of the Art*. For when they went about printing the Bible,
„ before they had work'd off the third quire, it had coſt them already
„ above 4000 florins. But the afore-mention'd *Peter Schoeffer*, then ſer-
„ vant and afterwards *Son-in-law to the firſt Inventor* John Fauſt, as we
„ hinted before, being a perſon of great ingenuity, diſcover'd an eaſier
„ method of caſting letters, and perfected the art as we now have it.
„ Theſe three kept this manner of printing very ſecret for ſome time,

ſuæ hæc Ars impreſſoria habuit difficultatem; impreſſuri namque Bibliam, priuſquam tertiam compleſſent in opere quaternionem, pluſquam 4000 florenorum expoſuerunt. *Petrus* autem memoratus *Opilio* tunc famulus, *poſtea gener*, ſicut diximus, *Inventoris primi Johannis Fuſt*, homo ingenioſus & prudens, faciliorem modum fundendi Characteres, & artem, ut nunc eſt, complevit. Et hi tres imprimendi modum aliquandiu tenuerunt occultum, quouſque per famulos ſine quorum miniſterio artem ipſam exercere non poterant, divulgatus fuit in Argentinenſes primo, & paulatim in omnes nationes. —— Et hæc de impreſſoria mira ſubtilitate dicta ſufficiant, cujus inventores primi cives *Moguntini* fuerunt —— Habitabant autem primi tres artis impreſſoriæ inventores, *Johannes* videlicet *Guttenber*, *Johannes Fuſt* & *Petrus Opilio*, gener ejus *Moguntiæ* in domo zum jungher dicta, quæ deinceps uſque in præſens *Impreſſoria* nuncupatur. *Chronic. Hirſaugienſe* ad ann. 1450.

„ until

„ until it was divulg'd by their ſervants, without whoſe help it was im-
„ poſſible to manage the buſineſs, who carry'd it firſt to *Strasburg*, and
„ by degrees all over *Europe*. —— Thus much will ſuffice concerning
„ the diſcovery of this wonderful art, the firſt inventors of which were
„ citizens of *Mentz*. ——— Theſe three firſt diſcoverers of printing,
„ *viz. John Guttenberg*, *John Fauſt* and *Peter Schoeffer* his Son-in-law, liv'd
„ at *Mentz*, in a houſe then call'd **Zum-jungher**, but ever ſince known
„ by the name of the *Printing-houſe*. „

FROM this authentick teſtimony, I ſhall beg leave to make the following obſervations, *viz.* 1. That when the author concluded his Chronicle, *ann.* 1514. two years before his death, and above 64 years after the diſcovery, this invention was indiſputably aſcrib'd to *Mentz*; he ſays indeed that ſome writers had attributed it to *Italy*, but without any foundation; and therefore he rejects this notion as abſolutely falſe. Yet *Junius*, as has been already hinted, firſt ſtarted a diſpute in favour of *Harlem*, almoſt 130 years after the art became known; and after him Dr. *Mentel* began another in favour of *Strasburgh*, *ann.* 1650, both which ſhall be anſwer'd in their places.

THE next obſervation is, that tho' the paſſage quoted out of his firſt Chronicle ſeems to be taken, if not copy'd out of that of *Mentz*, which is likewiſe a very antient and authentick monument, yet our author ſeems not to have been ſatisfy'd with it, till he had it confirm'd by ſurer hands. Other authors indeed have written concerning the origin of this art, according to the beſt memoirs they could procure, whether true or falſe; but our author alone has been at the pains to fetch his information from the fountain head, and deliver'd the particulars of it, as he receiv'd 'em from the principal agent in the invention, in the quotation from his ſecond Chronicle: ſo that his teſtimony, were it the only one we could produce for *Mentz*, ought ſtill to be eſteem'd unqueſtionable and deciſive.

ANOTHER particular worth our obſervation is, that tho' he mentions two books as printed immediately upon the diſcovery, *viz.* the *Catholicon* and the *Bible*, yet he ſufficiently ſhews the difference between the methods of their impreſſion; the former being done upon wooden planks, cut with a knife after the *Chineſe* manner, as our wooden cutts are done now; whereas the *Bible* was printed with ſeparate types, which, as we ſhew'd in the

the preceding chapter, is the only way that merits the name of *Printing*. This ſeems plainly intimated by the words in the citation before-mentioned, *When they came to print the Bible; and by the vaſt expence they had been at before they finiſh'd the third quire of it:* from which it is evident, that this ſacred book was the firſt work of conſequence which the authors of this art made choice of to ſignalize the firſt-fruits of their invention.

THE laſt thing I would obſerve is, that tho' *Trithemius* gives the precedency of this diſcovery to *John Guttenbergh*, in the beginning of this paſſage, yet within a few lines after, he twice gives the title of *The firſt inventor of Printing* to *John Fauſt*; which contradiction cannot be well reconcil'd otherwiſe, than by ſuppoſing that he, thro' inadvertency, wrote the name of *John Guttenberg* inſtead of *John Fauſt* and this is far from being improbable, ſince their chriſtian names are the ſame: and tho' he again puts *Guttenbergh* firſt, when he ſpeaks of the houſe in which they liv'd, yet this might be done only out of reſpect to him, either as being a knight (according to the writers of that time), or becauſe he was the moſt opulent of the three, and had contributed moſt to the charges of the invention.

THIS muſt be allow'd, unleſs we could ſuppoſe that the editor having compar'd the two paſſages together, namely, that out of the firſt, and this out of the ſecond Chronicle, had corrected, as he imagin'd, the latter by the former, upon a ſuſpicion, that the author writing the laſt almoſt 30 years after he had receiv'd the account from *Schoeffer*, might have miſtaken one name for the other; but to be certain of this, it would be neceſſary to conſult the original. However, what confirms me in my conjecture is, that the author or his editor have committed a miſtake, and that *Guttenberg* had no other intereſt in the diſcovery than by aſſiſting them with money to promote the deſign, is, the law-ſuit which he commenc'd againſt *Fauſt* at *Mentz* about the money expended, and the judgment of the court thereupon; of which the learned *Salmuth* has given the following account in his appendix to *Pancirol*'s commentaries [1]; and this may

[1] Eodem tempore *Moguntiæ* commorebatur *Johannes Guttenbergius*, honeſtis parentibus natus, qui proxime *Fauſti* ædibus habitabat. Hic cum animadvertiſſet inſignem hanc artem Typographicam, non ſolum omnium ore paſſim celebrari, ſed etiam admodum lucroſam eſſe, familiaritatem cum *Fauſto* contraxit; & quia opulentus erat, pecuniam ei ad ſumptus neceſſarios obtulit; quod *Fauſto* minime ingratum fuit, quandoquidem comperiebat ſumptus, quos in artem faciebat, quotidie creſcere, & tunc opus chartæ pergamenæ imprimendum ſub manibus habebat: quapropter cum *Guttenbergio* convenit & pactus eſt, ut quic-

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be eſteem'd another pregnant teſtimony for *Fauſt*, ſince 'tis extracted from an original record of the law-ſuit. The narrative as related by our author is as follows.

„ About this time there liv'd at *Mentz* one *John Guttenbergh*, born „ of honeſt parents, who dwelt next door to *John Fauſt*: he obſerving „ this famous art of Printing was not only cry'd up every where, but „ alſo very gainful, contracted a friendſhip with *Fauſt*; and being ex- „ ceeding rich, offer'd to ſupply him with money to defray the charges „ of it, which was gladly accepted by *Fauſt*, who began to find the ex- „ pence grow too faſt upon him, and wanted *vellum* to print a work then in „ hand. Upon this he agrees and covenants with *Guttenbergh*, that whatever „ ſums were laid out in the work, ſhould turn to their common profit „ or loſs. But becauſe *Fauſt* had diſpos'd of more money then *Guttenbergh* „ imagin'd the buſineſs would require, he refuſed to pay his moiety; „ upon which a diſſenſion aroſe between them, and they ſummon'd each „ other before the judges at *Mentz*. The parties being heard, it was „ decreed, that if *Fauſt* would make oath, that all the money which he „ had borrow'd, had been expended in carrying on the common buſi- „ neſs, and that he had converted no part thereof to his own private uſes; „ *Guttenbergh* ſhould be oblig'd to pay him. *Fauſt* ſubmitted to this de- „ cree; as may evidently be prov'd from an original inſtrument ſtill „ extant, which was drawn *Nov.* 6. *ann.* 1455. by *Uldric Helmoſperger*,

quid in illud opus impenderetur, communi utriuſque lucro vel damno cederet. Quoniam vero *Fauſtus* plus inſumpſerat, quam *Guttenbergius* neceſſitatem poſtulaſſe arbitrabatur: hic dimidiam ſuam partem exſolvere detrectavit; qua ex re cum lis orta eſſet, alter alterum *Moguntiæ* in jus vocavit, ubi, partibus auditis, pronunciatum fuit; ſi *Johannes Fauſtus* interpoſito juramento affirmare poſſet, omnem pecuniam, quam mutuam ſumpſiſſet in commune opus erogatam, non autem in proprios uſus converſam fuiſſe, *Guttenbergium* ad ſolvendum obligatum eſſe. Cui ſententiæ *Fauſtus* paruit, ſicut ex archetypo inſtrumenti, quod etiamnum ſupereſt, anno 1455 ſexto novembris a *Johanne Ulrico Helmoſperger* notario de ea re confectum fuit, liquido demonſtrari poteſt. Unde evidenter apparet *Guttenbergium* nequaquam artis typographicæ inventorem & primum authorem eſſe, ſed aliquot annis poſtquam ea inventa fuiſſet, a *Johanne Fauſto* in conſortium adſcitum, pecuniam ei ſuppeditaſſe —— Cum igitur *Guttenbergius* ad ſumptus reſundendos damnatus fuiſſet, & ex eo ſimultates inter illum & *Fauſtum* magis exarſiſſent, ille autem interea artem vidiſſet & didiciſſet, ſiquidem inter tot operas, quæ ad illam excudendam requiruntur, fieri non potuit, ut ea diutius occultaretur, quod etiam Deus proculdubio noluit, *Moguntia Argentinam* ſe contulit, quo aliquot ex operis ſecum attraxit. Poſt illud diſſidium alii quoque, qui apud *Fauſtum* artem illam didicerant, eum deſeruerunt, & *Francofurtum* atque in alia loca ſe receperunt; cum præſertim anno 1462 *Moguntia* capta, & priſtina ſua libertate privata fuiſſet, quo factum eſt, ut hæc præclara ars omnibus innoteſceret, & publici juris fieret. *Appendic. ad Commentar. Pancirol. ad titul.* 12. *qui eſt de Typographia.*

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„ a notary publick, purſuant to the ſaid ſentence. Hence it manifeſtly „ follows that *Guttenbergh* was in no wiſe the inventor or firſt author of „ Printing; but that he had been admitted by *Fauſt* into partnerſhip „ with him ſome few years after the diſcovery of the art, and had lent „ him money to proſecute the deſign. — *Guttenbergh* being caſt, and „ oblig'd to pay coſt and charges, and new quarrels ariſing daily be- „ tween *Fauſt* and him, and he having ſeen and learn'd the buſineſs, as „ it was impoſſible that among ſo many hands requiſite to the carrying „ on of the art, it ſhould continue longer a ſecret, which probably „ God would not ſuffer it to be, he [*Guttenbergh*] went off to *Strasburg*, „ taking ſome of the workmen along with him. After this breach, o- „ thers having learn'd the art from *Fauſt*, left him, and ſettled ſome at „ *Frankfort*, and others elſewhere; eſpecially when the city of *Mentz*, „ was taken [1] *ann.* 1462. and depriv'd of all its former liberties, where- „ by this excellent art became more publick and univerſally known. „ Thus far *Salmuth*, whoſe account is confirm'd by the author of the *Encomium Chalcographiæ*[2]. *J. Arnold Bergellanus* (who wrote an elegy upon the diſſenſion between thoſe two perſons, in which he ſeems to favour *Guttenbergh* more than *Fauſt*, and to have follow'd *Wimpheling*; who out of love to his fellow-citizen, for he repreſents *Guttenbergh* as born at *Strasburgh*, and not to have remov'd to *Mentz*, till he had almoſt perfected the art) makes him the chief perſon in this diſcovery; yet mentions both the law-ſuit and the decree, as well as the deed before mention'd; but differs from *Salmuth* in affirming that the law-ſuit was not yet ended when he wrote his book, which might ariſe from *Guttenbergh*'s hanging it upon the hooks, and eſcaping to *Strasburgh*, as *Salmuth* obſerves, or to *Harlem*, as others believe. However, this is evident, and agreed on by all hands, that there was an end at once to all their partnerſhip, into which he was only admitted for the ſake of his purſe, which was abſolutely neceſſary to *Fauſt*.

FROM all theſe teſtimonies, which are not only quoted, but ſtrongly aſſented to by the judicious *Malincrot*[3], I ſhall make one or two remarks in favour of *Mentz* and *Fauſt*, which are; 1. that among all the learn-

[1] The city of *Mentz* formerly a very wealthy city of the Empire, was taken thro' a ſtrategem, by the Archbiſhop *Adolph*, in the night preceding St. *Simon* and *Jude* in the year 1462, and plunder'd and depriv'd of its freedom.

[2] Vid Malinkrot. p. 77.

[3] Vid. Malinkrot. c. 9.

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ed I have convers'd with, whoſe curioſity hath lead them to ſearch into the riſe and progreſs of Printing, and all the writers upon this ſubject I could ever meet with, not one has pretended to have ſeen any book printed in *John Guttenbergh*'s name, even in the oldeſt monuments remaining of the infancy of this art, whether printed upon wood, or by ſeparate metal types: 2. That on the contrary, where there is any mention made of either printer or place, it is ſtill in *Fauſt*'s and *Schoeffer*'s name.

THEREFORE until there is ſome better proof of *Guttenbergh*'s name, either jointly with the other two, or ſeparately, or ſome book produc'd with it, it ſeems evident beyond contradiction, that the glory of this invention is wholly due to *John Fauſt*, and the improving and perfecting it to his ſon-in-law *Peter Schoeffer*, excluſive of *John Guttenbergh:* this I hope, will ſuffice to juſtify my conjecture, that either *Trithemius* miſtook the names, or the editor of his ſecond chronicle chang'd them, to make it agree with his firſt, and to ſatisfy the reader, that I had good reaſons and authority to forbear mentioning *Guttenbergh* among the firſt inventors: I ſhall only add with reſpect to the learned *Salmuth* that he prefaces this account with a ſuccinct relation of the improvements which the ingenious *Peter Schoeffer* made to the art, as the invention of Punches, Matrices, *&c.* as likewiſe of the difficulties which they met afreſh, by reaſon of the ſoftneſs of the metal in which they had caſt their firſt types, and of his finding out a new mixture which fully anſwer'd the deſign: laſtly that *Fauſt* was ſo pleas'd with his ſervants ingenuity, that he made him his ſon-in-law. This paſſage which I have here ſubjoin'd[1] is ſo exactly like that out of *Trithemius*'s ſecond Chronicle that one might eaſily be induc'd to think he had copy'd it from him, were it not that this letter was neither printed or indeed known, till almoſt a whole cen-

[1] Cæterum in exercenda hac nova arte, operis quibuſdam uſus eſt *Fauſtus*, in quibus fuit *Petrus Schoeffer Gernſheimenſis*, qui cum heri ſui inſtitutum percepiſſet, magno illius artis ſtudio incenſus eſt & quia ingenio valebat, animum ad illam amplificandam adjecit, ac ſingulari Dei inſtinctu, rationem inivit, qua Characteres Matrici, ut vocant, inciderentur & ex ea funderentur. Alphabeto hoc modo inciſo, characteres inde fuſos, *Fauſto* hero ſuo oſtendit, quibus ille uſque adeo exhilaratus eſt, ut ei protinus filiam ſuam unicam deſponderet, ac paulo poſt in uxorem daret: quamvis autem in hoc genere Characterum aliqua difficultas ſuborta eſſet, propterea quod materia mollior eſſet quam ut preſſuræ reſiſtere poſſet, tamen mox ejuſmodi mixtura inventa fuit quæ vim præli aliquandiu ſuſtinere potuit. *Appen. ad tit. de Typogr. p.* 312.

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tury after *Salmuth* wrote, as appears by *Camerarius*'s letter prefix'd to his book, and dated from *Nuremberg ann.* 1596.

THE learned *Wimpheling* claims the next rank, as being contemporary with *Trithemius*, and a no leſs diligent ſearcher after the memorable things of his own country. He wrote his book *ann.* 1502 or 1504, wherein is the following account, *viz.* „ That in the year 1440, when „ *Ferdinand* was *Emperor* of the *Romans*, that great and almoſt divine „ gift, the diſcovery of a new way of writing, was beſtow'd upon man- „ kind by *John Guttenbergh*; who having firſt invented the art of Print- „ ing, went afterwards to *Mentz*, where he perfected it. „ —— The reſt of the paſſage, which relates chiefly to the promulgation of the art, and the Printers who enrich'd and ſignaliz'd themſelves by it, we ſhall refer to the ſecond book, to which it properly belongs.

I have already remark'd ſomething of *Wimpheling*'s partiality to his own city *Strasburg:* and indeed 'tis what the reader may obſerve in all authors, whoſe country laid the leaſt claim to this invention; *Fauſt* for having carry'd on the buſineſs with all poſſible ſecreſy, and ſcarce being known out of his own city till the diſperſion of his workmen; they, wherever they ſettled, challeng'd to themſelves the honour of this diſcovery, or at leaſt of being co-adjutors to the inventor, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place. However the reader will ſee with pleaſure how our author retracts his too great liberality to his fellow-citizen, in another work, *viz.* his catalogue of the Biſhops of *Strasburg*, wherein he expreſſes himſelf thus: „ Under that Biſhop *Robert* of *Bavaria* was the no- „ ble art of Printing found out by a certain *Strasburgher*, tho' in an „ imperfect manner; but upon his going to *Mentz* unto other practiti- „ oners of that art, by the directions of one *John Gensfleich*, an old gen- „ tleman blind with age, the art was perfected, in the houſe call'd *Gut-* „ *tenbergh* in [Engliſh *Good-hill*] where the College of Lawyers now „ ſtands, to the eternal honour of the *German* nation.

THERE is no need to obſerve to the reader, the difference between this paſſage and the former; nor to inquire whether it was out of remorſe, or upon better information, that the author gave this latter account; but it will be proper to remark, that *Gensfleich* is another name given by ſeveral writers to *Fauſt*, or perhaps a nick-name which he was known by, it ſignifying gooſe-fleſh: ſo that our author has attributed to

him at leaſt the glory of having practis'd the art at *Mentz* before *Guttenbergh* came, and to have directed him in perfecting what he had in vain attempted at *Strasburg*. The reader may likewiſe obſerve that *Guttenbergh* ſeems to have been thus denominated from the houſe ſo call'd, in which *Fauſt* and he carried on the buſineſs, till their mutual diſcords parted them.

JOHN NAUCLERUS author of the univerſal hiſtory, which is divided into generations,[1] tells us, that this art of Printing with metal types was diſcover'd at *Mentz* under the Emperor *Ferdinand* III. *ann.* 1440; and extols the genius of *Germany*, as for other glorious inventions, ſuch as Guns, &c. ſo more particularly for this of Printing, which he makes a large encomium upon. He liv'd near the times of this invention, *viz. ann.* 1450, and tho' he mentions not the authors of it, yet ſince he ſays it was diſcover'd at *Mentz ann.* 1440, it is plain he could mean none but *Fauſt*, ſeeing no books were printed there for many years after, but by him and his ſon-in-law.

NEITHER have the poets of thoſe times been wanting in celebrating this invention, from which alone they and their works could expect that immortality, which they confer upon the *Great* and *Good*. We have quoted ſome of them in the preceding chapter, as *Laurentius Valla* an *Italian*, and *Sebaſtian Brand* a *German*; tho' this laſt being a native of *Strasburgh*, and afterwards Mayor of that city, we will not pretend to determine whether what he ſings of the *Rheniſh* nation and the *German* genius be meant of *Mentz* or his own city: however 'tis evident that he never dreamt of *Holland* or *Harlem*. But let us now hear *Conrad Celt*, the firſt *German* Poet-Laureat, who ſpeaking of the river *Rhine* has the following Tetraſtich upon the city of *Mentz*[2];

Jamque Mogunciacam *vaſtus te flectis in urbem,*
Quæ prima impreſſas tradidit ære notas;
Qualem ego te memorem? talem qui invenerit artem,
Italicis, Graiis *plus memorande viris.*

IN another elegy[3] he expreſſes his deſire of viſiting that famous city, which had taught the *Germans* this excellent method of writing without

[1] Hiſtor. Univer. Gen. 49. [2] Amor. lib. 3. Eleg. 13. [3] Ibid. Eleg. 1.

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pen, &c. I hope to be excus'd the pains of a larger collection of this nature; the reader may find plenty of ſuch poetical encomiums upon this art in *Malinkrot*'s hiſtory, chap. 2. and elſewhere. But I cannot omit inſerting a ſhort paſſage out of the famous *Swediſh* poet *Nicodemus Friſchlin*, who in his *Julius Redivivus*, a comedy in praiſe of *Germany* and the Art of Printing, has theſe lines,

—— *primus Inventor* [*Typographiæ*] Moguntiæ
Vixit, fatale nomen adeptus Fauſti. ——

ſoon after which he gives an elegant deſcription of the wonderful change produc'd by this art: which render'd the *Germans*, (before a rude and illiterate people) able to teach the moſt polite nations of *Europe*, by its admirable quickneſs in multiplying of books, which is elegantly expreſs'd by *Campanus* biſhop of *Aleria* in this verſe,

Imprimit illa die quantum non ſcribitur anno.

To return to the hiſtorians of later date; *Peter Apian*, who for his incomparable skill in mathematicks had the honour to be tutor to the Emperor *Charles* V. aſſures us [1] that *Mentz*, a frontier town between high and low *Germany*, was the place where Printing was diſcover'd by *John Fauſt*, *ann.* 1453. *Sebaſtian Munſter*, another Coſmographer, gives a larger account of this invention [2], tho' he ſeems to follow *Trithemius* and thoſe who place *Guttenbergh* at the head of the triumvirate: his words are theſe,

„ From the year 1440 to the year 1450 the noble Art of Printing was
„ diſcover'd at *Mentz*; thence it was carry'd to *Cologn*, then to *Stras-*
„ *burgh*, *Baſil*, and at laſt to *Venice*. Its firſt author and inventor was
„ *John Guttenbergh*, otherwiſe call'd **Zumjungen**, who had two other
„ citizens for aſſiſtants, *viz. John Fauſt* and *John Medimbach*, who kept
„ this art very ſecret, having ſworn their ſervants not to divulge it. „

[1] *Coſmograph. lib.* 2.

[2] Ab anno 1440 uſque ad ann. 1450 nobilis ars imprimendi *Moguntiæ* reperta eſt; ea *Moguntia Coloniam*, deinde *Argentinam*, & *Baſileam*, tandem *Venetias* delata eſt. Primus ejus author & inventor *Johannes Guttenbergius*, qui *Zunjungen* dicebatur, iſque cives alios duos *Moguntinos* adjutores habuit: *Johannem Fauſtum & Johannem Medimbachium*, qui artem hanc in ſecreto tenuerunt, famulis de ea non propalanda jurejurando conſtrictis, *Munſter. Coſmographi. lib.* 5. *c.* 159. *apud Malinkrot c.* 2. *p.* 14.

Mutius, who wrote his *German* Chronicle *ann.* 1539 attributes the invention of Guns, and ſoon after that of Printing, to *Mentz*. But the moſt illuſtrious teſtimony in favour of *Fauſt*, is that of the great collector of *German* antiquities *John Aventine*, to this purpoſe: [1] „ In the year „ 1450 *John Fauſt*, citizen of *Mentz* in *Germany*, confer'd on man- „ kind a great and truly divine gift, *viz.* a new method of writing, „ undoubtedly reveal'd to him from heaven, commonly call'd *Chalco-* „ *graphy* or Printing, which he invented and perfected within the ſpace „ of two years. This gentleman, like an indulgent father, ſtudy'd how „ to preſerve learning and excellent Books to poſterity, which muſt o- „ therwiſe have periſh'd, thro' the careleſsneſs and indolence of theſe „ times; had not this art (by which one man can print as many pages „ in a day, as ſeveral hands can write in a year,) quoted before, given „ new vigour to men's genius, made learning flouriſh, render'd books „ ſo cheap as to be a purchaſe for ſtudents of the loweſt fortunes, and „ excited men to the ſtudy of arts and ſciences by the plenty of learned „ works which it hath afforded us. This divine invention was kept pri- „ vate by *John Fauſt* and *Peter Schoeffer de Gernſheim*, to whom he had „ given his only daughter *Chriſtina* in marriage; and all their workmen „ were bound by an oath not to diſcloſe it. Ten years after this, *John* „ *Guttenbergh* of *Strasburgh*, one of *Fauſt*'s ſervants, divulg'd it in *Ger-* „ *many*. *Ulric Han* a fellow-citizen of his, and *Xyxtus Reſius* brought it „ to *Rome* and *Italy*; where, within my memory, *Aldus Manutius*, a „ perſon deſign'd for the reſtoration of learning, ſignaliz'd himſelf, &c.

[1] Hoc anno 1450. magnum ac vere divinum beneficium *Johannes Fauſtus Germanus*, civis *Moguntinus*, generi humano contulit, novum ſcribendi genus haud dubie cœlitus revelatum (quod chalcographiam, excuſoriam, impreſſoriamque vocare ſolent) invenit & biennio complevit. Conſuluit pater indulgentiſſimus honeſtis literis, autoribus præclaris, de quibus actum fuiſſet; ita torpore langueſcimus, adeo delicatuli ſumus, fugitanteſque laborum; tantum literarum uno menſe ab uno homine imprimitur, quantum uno anno a pluribus ſcriberetur; quod *Campanus Aprutinus* pontifex uno verſu elegantiſſime ſcribit.

Imprimit illa die &c. ut ſupra.

Hinc indies magis ingenia vigent, ſtudia literarum floreſcunt, copia librorum parvo ære egenis ſuppetit, omnes ad capeſſendas præclaras artes tantum librorum commoditate alliciuntur. Hoc cœleſtiſſimum munus a *Fauſto* & *Petro Schoeffer* de *Gernſheim* genero ſuo, cui unicam filiam *Chriſtinam* deſponderat, inter ſecreta, adactis omnibus ſociis ad fidem jurisjurandi religione habitam. Decimo poſt anno *Fauſti* miniſter *Johannes Guttenbergius Argentoratenſis* in *Germania* vulgavit. Municeps hujus *Ulricus Han*, hoc eſt *Gallus*, & *Xyſtus Reſius Romæ, Italiæque* intulere; ubi hoc artificio, mea memoria, *Aldus* ille *Manutius*, vir ad inſtaurandas literas natus, claruit. — *Annal. Boicor. lib.* 7. *de Typographia.*

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The remainder of this paſſage chiefly relates to the diſperſion and promulgation of the art; and therefore is unneceſſary to be ſet down here. There is but one thing in this quotation that can puzzle the reader; which is, that the author makes *Guttenbergh* to have been one of *Fauſt*'s ſervants, inſtead of his partner and uſurer as has been ſhewed already; in the reſt he exactly agrees with the writers quoted before. With reſpect to the diſagreement among authors concerning the names of the firſt inventors, if we remember that *Guttenbergh*, to evade the ſentence pronounc'd againſt him at *Mentz*, departed with ſome of *Fauſt*'s workmen to *Strasburgh*, it will not appear improbable that ſome, who wrote at a diſtance, might confound him with thoſe ſervants, eſpecially conſidering that his name was never in any Book printed at *Mentz*. However 'tis plain that a place of one writer miſtaken by another, has been the occaſion of leading many more, who have follow'd him implicitely, into the ſame error. An inſtance of this, which will be no digreſſion from our hiſtory, is as follows.

THE authors who have follow'd *Peter Ramus*, from *Sabellicus*, *Zuringer*, &c. down to *Paul Pater*, author of the treatiſe *De Germaniæ Miraculo* [the Art of Printing] publiſh'd *ann.* 1709 have aſcrib'd this invention to *J. Regiomontanus*, and thought they did the Art no ſmall honour, in making ſo great a Mathematician its author. What ſeem'd to confirm their opinion was, that *Fauſt*, *Guttenbergh* and he were contemporaries, and 'tis probable, liv'd near each other; tho' he afterwards remov'd to *Nurembergh*. What made this ſtill more probable was, that *Regiomontanus* perfectly underſtood Mechanicks, ſo that, as it is ſaid, he made an iron Flyſpring from under his hand, fly round the room with a humming noiſe, and return back under his hand; he is likewiſe reported to have made a wooden Eagle, which flew from *Nurembergh* to meet the Emperor, hover'd over his head in a tonick motion, and went back the ſame way with him. It would be dangerous now to aſſert the truth of theſe ſtories, ſince ſuch flights of ingenuity have been ſo long diſcourag'd, to make way for more uſeful inventions; yet *Jul. Scaliger* was ſo far from doubting of them, that he pretends to have found out the Art, and bragg'd that he could perform the like with a wet finger. However this was ſufficient to perſuade our authors that *Regiomontanus*, reputed ſo univerſal an artiſt, was moſt probably the perſon who invented

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the method of Printing, and communicated it to *Fauſt* and *Guttenbergh*; in conſequence of which they have plac'd him at the head of the other two. Nevertheleſs this notion ſeems to take its riſe from a paſſage in *Purbach*'s tables, wherein 'tis ſaid that the diſcovery of Printing is to be refer'd to the times of *Regiomontanus*, as *Malinkrot* has fully prov'd. This ſtory, I hope, will both convince the reader of the danger of following an author too implicitely, and juſtify my differing from the generality of thoſe who attribute the diſcovery to *John Guttenbergh*, whoſe opinion I apprehend to be ſufficiently confuted. Setting aſide this miſtake of *P. Ramus* with reſpect to *Regiomontanus*, he agrees with the reſt of our other teſtimonies in favour of *Fauſt*; and I conceive it to be not in the leaſt improbable, that the inventors might, in ſuch a variety of tools, implements, and other things neceſſary to the perfecting this Art, have recourſe to him or ſome other ingenious perſon, for advice and aſſiſtance.

HOWEVER it is certain that *Regiomontanus* was a very early printer, tho' not taken notice of as ſuch by any writer I have met with. I did indeed believe him to have been an aſſiſtant in perfecting of the Art, but never could meet with any ſufficient authority to fix the honour upon him, till I was admitted into the Library of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Pembroke*, whom I beg leave to take this firſt opportunity of mentioning with honour and gratitude, not only for his great condeſcenſion in allowing me a free acceſs to his noble Collections of antient Editions, but likewiſe for ſeveral very curious hints upon this ſubject, which ſhall be mention'd in their proper places; here it was that his Lordſhip was pleas'd to ſhew me the following great curioſity, viz. *Manilius* in 4to. with theſe words at the end.

Ex Officina Johannis de Regiomente *in Nuremberg.*

THE antiquity of this curious Edition ſhews it ſelf at firſt ſight, tho' there be no date to it, a circumſtance much to be lamented, tho' too common to many of thoſe antient monuments in the infancy of the Art. I muſt therefore be oblig'd to rank it with the reſt of theſe dateleſs works, of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory: it is evident this is an older edition than that mention'd by *Fabricius* of 1474, which

which'tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe, not only by his being contemporary with, but aſſiſtant to, *Fauſt* in perfecting this art: however as *Regiomontanus* was a man of ſuch profound ſkill in aſtronomy, mechanicks, and ſeveral other branches of learning, I am willing to hope time will bring forth ſome further teſtimonies concerning him.

But what convinces me that he had no ſhare in the firſt diſcovery of the Art, is that in his long dedication prefix'd to his *Aſtronomical Tables*, the firſt piece he ever publiſh'd, which I have ſeen, and which is dedicated to the Primate of *Hungary*, he doth not make the leaſt mention of his having been concern'd in ſuch a noble diſcovery, which it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe he would have done, could he have claim'd ſuch a ſingular piece of merit to have recommended him to ſo great a patron; eſpecially when he expatiates ſo much upon the difficulties that attended the work he dedicates to him: but to return.

I apprehend a probable objection againſt the teſtimonies before quoted (which are ſcarce a fourth part of thoſe collected by *Malinkrot*,) that they are taken from *Germans*, who may be reaſonably ſuppos'd too partial to their country, and conſequently leſs to be relied on than foreign writers, whoſe authority would be of far greater weight in this caſe. This I ſhall obviate by ſhewing, that learned authors of other nations are conſiſtent with the *Germans* in this particular. I have already cited two poets, the one an *Italian*, the other a *Swede*; the former of whom aſcribes this diſcovery to *Germany*, and the latter to *John Fauſt* of *Mentz*. My next deſign is to produce ſome of thoſe, who are eminent for their enquiries into the antiquities of their own and other countries. At the head of theſe ſtands *Polydore Vergil*, an *Italian*, who in his Book *de Rerum Inventoribus*, after an elegant encomium upon the Art, and a deſcription of its important benefits to mankind, proceeds thus [1]

„ Wherefore that the author of ſuch a diſcovery may not be depriv'd
„ of his due praiſe, and that poſterity may know to whom we are in-

[1] Quare tantæ rei author non eſt ſua laude fraudandus, præſertim ut poſteritas ſciat, cui divinum acceptum beneficium referre debeat. Itaque *Johannes Guttenbergius* natione *Teutonicus*, equeſtri vir dignitate, ut ab ejus civibus accepimus, primus omnium in oppido *Germaniæ*, quam *Moguntiam* vocant, hanc imprimendarum literarum artem excogitavit, primumque in ea exercere cœpit; non minore induſtria reperto ab eodem, prout ferunt, authore, novo atramenti genere, quo nunc literarum impreſſores utuntur. Decimo ſexto deinde anno, qui fuit ſalutis humanæ M CCCC L VIII. quidam nomine *Conradus*, homo itidem *Germanus*, primum in *Italiam* attulit, &c. *lib.* 2. *cap* 7.

debted

„ debted for this divine gift; it was *John Guttenbergh*, by nation a *Ger-*
„ *man*, and a Knight, who firſt devis'd this Art of Printing Books in
„ the city of *Mentz*, and began to practiſe it there, as we have been
„ inform'd by the citizens themſelves; he is reported likewiſe to have
„ made another diſcovery, *viz.* of a new kind of Ink, us'd now by
„ all printers. Sixteen years after this, *ann.* 1457, one *Conrad* a *Ger-*
„ *man*, brought it firſt to *Rome*, &c. „ — Our author makes no men-tion of any but *Guttenbergh*; yet as he ſays the Art was firſt practis'd at *Mentz*, 'tis plain from what has been ſaid before, that he deſerv'd not the firſt name in this invention. The citizens who gave this account, were certainly thoſe that diſpers'd themſelves from *Fauſt*; who, though they learn'd the Art of him, yet might eſteem *Guttenbergh* the firſt au-thor, becauſe he was moſt conſiderable; and not unlikely lorded it over the reſt, who he knew, could not carry on the buſineſs without his purſe; whilſt *Fauſt*, whoſe chief care was to conceal the Art, till he had reim-burs'd himſelf ſo far as to be able to carry it on without his help, might let him enjoy the honour of the diſcovery in the mean time. What confirms my conjecture is, that if *Conrad* arriv'd at *Rome* in the year 1457 he muſt have left *Mentz* before *Fauſt* and *Schoeffer* had printed a-ny Books with their names. However in this caſe *Fauſt* would not be the only man, whoſe indigence and honeſty have been inducements to part with the credit of a beneficial diſcovery to a perſon of leſs merit, rather than to let it die with him, for want of means to carry it on.

THE following author *Jacobus Philippus Bergomenſis*, who is doubtful concerning the genuine inventor, may eaſily be ſet right, from what has been already ſaid. He tells us, „ that the Art of Printing was
„ firſt brought to light in *Germany*, about the year 1457; that the diſ-
„ covery was by ſome attributed to *Guttenbergh* of *Strasburgh*, by others
„ to one *Fauſt*, and by a third ſort to *Nicholas Genſon* or *Jenſon*, that
„ the authors of it got immenſe riches, &c. „ With relation to this *Jen-ſon*, it will appear by the ſequel of this hiſtory, that he was only one of thoſe who firſt carry'd the Art into *Italy*, where he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf

[1] *Jacob. Philip. Bergomenſ. lib.* 15. *ſupplem. Chronic. ad ann.* 1458. Ars imprimendi libros his temporibus in *Germania* primum enata eſt, quam alii repertam eſſe aſſeverant a *Cuthimbergio Argentino*: alii a quodum alio, nomine *Fauſto*; alii a *Nicolao Genſon* prædicant; pro qua innumerabiles authores ipſi congregarunt divitias, &c.

by

by his fine impreſſions, &c. but never made the leaſt pretences to the invention. There is no neceſſity of repeating what has ſo often been ſaid concerning *Guttenbergh*, whom *Palmerius* of *Piſa* aſſerts to have been the author of this diſcovery about the year 1440; his words are as follow: „ [1] What obligations the learned world hath to the *German* nation, cannot be ſufficiently expreſs'd; for the Art of Printing, which had been „ invented by *John Guttenbergh* Zum-jungen, a knight of *Mentz* upon „ the *Rhine*, about the year 1440, is at this time (*viz. ann.* 1457) di„ vulg'd almoſt throughout the world; by which the works of the antients „ may be purchas'd at a ſmall price, and be read in an infinite number of „ volumes ſince printed. „ There are a prodigious many more authors, who, tho' they do not mention either the names of the inventors, or the place of the diſcovery, yet unanimouſly give the honour of it to *Germany*; and even *Paulus Jovius*, who aſcribes the invention of wooden planks to the *Chineſe*, from whom it was brought into *Europe*, by the way of *Scythia* and *Muſcovy*, when he ſpeaks of the other method of Printing, ſays, it is no wonder that ſeveral arts and ſciences owe their birth to the *Germans*, ſince the noble diſcovery, of metal types, as well as that of braſs cannons, was found out by them [2].

My next teſtimony is that of the celebrated politician *John Ruterus*, who not only in his hiſtorical relations attributes the invention of Guns and Printing to the *German* nation, but confirms it more fully in his book *de fortuna illuſtrium virorum*, &c. where he ſays, [3] „ That he will „ not contend about the author of Printing; but gratefully acknow„ ledge the ſingular gift of God in it, ſeeing one man can print as much „ in one day, as the beſt hand can write in a whole year; for there is „ ſcarce (continues he) a Preſs, eſpecially in the *German* Printing

[1] Quantum literarum ſtudioſi *Germanis* debeant nullo ſatis dicendi genere exprimi poteſt: namque a *Johanne Guttenberg* Zum-jungh̃en, equite *Moguntiæ*, *Rheni*, ſolerti ingenio librorum imprimendorum ratio anno 1440 inventa, hoc tempore in omnes fere orbis partes propagatur, qua omnis antiquitas parvo ære comparata poſterioribus infinitis voluminibus legitur. *Chronic. ad ann.* 1457.

[2] Lib. 14. hiſtor.

[3] *Ruterus*'s his words, as I find them tranſlated by *Gaſpard Euſius* in *Malinkrot*, p 19. are theſe. " De Authore artis impreſſoriæ hic " non digladiabor: ſummum id Dei beneficium " grato animo nos ſedulo decet agnoſcere; ab " uno enim homine uno die tantum literarum " imprimitur, quantum vix toto anno ſcribi poſ" ſet; ſingulis enim diebus in quolibet prelo in " *Germanorum* typographiis ter mille ſexcentæ " chartæ, nonnunquam etiam quater mille, in" terdum ultra, &c. "

„ houſes, which doth not print off 3600 ſheets *per diem*, nay ſome „ 4000, and others exceed even that number. „

I ſhall conclude this chapter with a paſſage out of the great Monſieur *Thevet*, coſmographer to the king of *France*, not only becauſe his authority will eaſily out-balance that of all the *Dutch* writers, but likewiſe becauſe there are ſome particulars in it which will be acceptable to the reader. As it is ſomething prolix, I ſhall only extract the moſt remarkable part, as follows :[1] „ This art [of Printing] is believ'd to have been firſt „ invented at *Mentz* in *Germany*, about the year 1442. by *John Gutten-* „ *bergh*, a *German* knight ; who began his firſt eſſays of it there, and „ found out a new ſort of ink, now us'd by the Printers: but there are „ ſome writers of opinion that this honour rather belong'd to *John Fauſt* „ and *Ives* [in latin *Ivo*] *Schoeffer* two years before that time, and affirm „ that *Guttenbergh*, *John Mentel* and others [whoſe names our author „ quotes out of *Pantaleon*] all *Germans*, improv'd afterwards the art, and „ divulg'd it in ſeveral parts of *Germany*; and at length carry'd it to fo- „ reign nations. Others write that this art came originally from *China* „ and *Cathai* ; but this aſſertion is without any foundation, ſeeing the „ *Eaſt-Indies* were not diſcover'd by the *Portugeſe* till about 65 years ago; „ whereas Printing has been invented and practis'd ever ſince 1442. „ *Paul* the *Venetian* indeed gave the firſt deſcription of that country about „ 400 years ago, but made not the leaſt mention of Printing being us'd „ there. A confirmation of my opinion is, that the *Greeks*, *Mingrelians*, „ *Abyſſines*, *Turks*, *Perſians*, *Moors*, *Arabs* and *Tartars* write all their „ books by hand, this method was ordain'd in *Turky* by an edict of *Ba-* „ *jazet* II. who prohibited the uſe of printed books under pain of death „ *ann.* 1483; which edict was confirm'd by *Selim* I. *Bajazet*'s ſon *ann.* „ 1515. Beſides this, whilſt I was in *Egypt*, I ſaw ſeveral books ſo neat- „ ly written on the bark of palm-trees, that they might be taken for „ printed ones. The merchants, which bring their wares from *India* „ through the *Red-ſea*, make uſe of the ſame ſort of written books, ſome „ of which are now to be ſeen at the library of the Queen dowager at „ St. *German*'s in the fields near *Paris*. Others pretend that this art of „ Printing has been carry'd as far as *Mexico*, which kingdom is directly

[1] *Thevet*'s Lives and Pictures of Illuſtrious Perſons, *ch.* 97.

„ oppoſite

„ oppoſite to *Cathai*, the one being in *Aſia* towards the ſouth, and the „ other in *America* towards the north-pole. However it muſt be own'd „ that the *Americans* write with characters, repreſenting ſeveral kinds of „ beaſts, fiſh, fowl, the different parts of human bodies, and the like; „ by which they expreſs their mind, as the *Egyptians* did formerly. —— I „ have two of thoſe books by me, with an interpretation of their hiero- „ glyphicks. The goddeſs *Minerva* is ſaid to have been the inventreſs „ of learning and war; and the *Germans* have imitated her in both theſe „ reſpects, by the invention of bombs and printing, which were certain- „ ly diſcover'd by them. One fault however that nation labours under, „ which ſomewhat eclipſes their glory, which is, that they know not how, „ or at leaſt neglect to improve thoſe inventions, that were ſo eaſily „ found out by them. „ —— The author proceeds in an encomium upon the art and thoſe who rais'd it to greater perfection; but that belongs to another chapter.

I hope that the teſtimonies produc'd hitherto will be more than ſufficient to fix the palm upon *Fauſt* and the city of *Mentz*; and that the reader will follow me with pleaſure to the next chapter, where they will be confirm'd by inconteſtable matters of fact.

CHAP. IV.

Authentick Facts in favour of Fauſt *and* Mentz.

IF the teſtimonies alledg'd in the preceding chapter are inſufficient to convince any perſon that this invention is due to *Fauſt*; what follows in this will, I conceive, put it quite out of doubt, unleſs he be more incredulous in this caſe than a *Dutchman*: for the great *Eraſmus* has not only own'd himſelf convinc'd of this truth by one ſingle fact, but even tranſmitted it to poſterity. I ſhall therefore begin with that noble teſtimony, which is a privilege granted by the Emperor *Maximilian* to *John Schoeffer*, grand-ſon of *John Fauſt*, not only for the ſole printing the works of *T. Livy* (at the end of which, the privilege is annex'd, printed by the ſaid *John Schoeffer* at *Mentz*, *ann.* 1499), but likewiſe prohibiting all perſons to reprint either the ſaid book, or any other which ſhould be af-

terwards printed by him, in conſideration of his being grand-ſon to the firſt Inventor of the art of Printing: concerning whom *Eraſmus*, who firſt publiſh'd that work, ſpeaks in his preface to it as follows: „ If thoſe, „ who furniſh'd *Origen* and St. *Jerom* with writers and parchments, have „ merited the higheſt commendation; what praiſe is due to Printers and „ Bookſellers, who ſupply us with whole volumes for a ſmall price? If „ *Ptolemy Philadelphus* acquir'd ſuch reputation, for collecting ſo great „ a library; what recompence can be made to thoſe, who furniſh us „ daily with books in all languages? But amongſt all theſe, to whom „ we are ſo much oblig'd, we muſt gratefully remember the firſt inven- „ tor of this divine ſecret; *John Fauſt* grand father to *John Schoeffer*. „ Thus far *Eraſmus*, without the leaſt mention of his countryman *Coſter*. With reſpect to the Emperor's priviledge, it could not be ſuſpected of any partiality to *Fauſt* rather than to *Guttenbergh*, or to *Mentz* rather than *Strasburg*, &c. ſince they were equally under his dominion.

THE next fact to be related, is that of the tools, old types, *&c.* of the inventors, preſerv'd in *Mentz*, above 130 years at leaſt after the ſacking of that city *ann.* 1462, and view'd before that time by ſome eminent perſons, as curious relicks of the art: among others, *John Arnold Bergellanus* [1] aſſures us, that he had ſeen them there; and *Nic. Serrarius* [2] ſays, they were then kept at *Mentz* in a houſe in the ſtreet call'd *Keyſer's garden*, and ſhewn to him by one *Albinus* a Printer. We need not bring a greater number of authors to atteſt this, ſeeing it may likely be eſteem'd but a weak proof by ſome of our readers; but if they will conſider what noiſe *Junius* and *Scriverius* have made about ſome trifles (compar'd to theſe) preſerv'd at *Harlem* in memory of *Coſter*, according to a tradition of two or three old gentlemen; they will not wonder that I lay ſome ſtreſs upon this, and chooſe ſometimes to make uſe of their own weapons againſt them. I ſhall therefore ſubjoin another fact, which is the inſcription ſet up at *Mentz* by *Ives* of *Witigen* or *Venza*, doctor of laws, and profeſſor in that univerſity, in the inner court of the college of law-

[1] Hodie vetuſtiſſima quædam in eum (imprimendi ſc.) uſum ab authoribus comparata, quæ vidi, inſtrumenta extant Moguntiæ. *Bergellan. in præfat. Encom. ſui Typograph.*

[2] —— adjiciantur primi denique artis hujus modioli, quos antiqua hic (*Moguntiæ enim ſcribebat*) domus in *Cæſarini* horti platea cuſtodit, quoſque mihi inſuper *Albinus* typographus, monſtrabat. *Nichol. Serrarius de Rebus Moguntin. l.* 1. *c.* 37.

yers.

yers. Johanni Guttenbergenſi Moguntino, *qui primus omnium literas ære imprimendas invenit, hac arte de toto orbe bene merenti*, Ivo Witigenſis *hoc ſaxum pro monumento poſuit*, anno 1508. This inſcription tho' it favours *Guttenbergh* more than *Fauſt*, is more authentick than any of thoſe three brought by *Junius* for *Coſter*, the laſt of which as *Malinkrot* obſerves, is either written or at leaſt publiſh'd by him; the ſecond is but a few years older, and the firſt not plac'd over *Coſter*'s door 'till after *Junius* had publiſh'd his deſcription of *Holland*.

A proof ſtill ſtronger is the inſcriptions found in the oldeſt books printed at *Mentz*, wherein that city is ſtyl'd the mother and inventreſs of printing. If *Harlem* or any other city could have ſhewn a juſter title to this honour, it is ſurprizing that this place ſhould have enjoy'd it for above 125 years without the leaſt contradiction, and that no *Dutch* writer did ſo much as attempt, in all that long interval, to confute thoſe known and remarkable *colophons* or inſcriptions, which *Fauſt* began to print at the end of his books, when he could no longer conceal his diſcovery; and in which he gives an account of the inventors and manner in which the books were done, firſt negatively, viz. *not with pen and ink or any other writing inſtruments*, and then affirmatively, *but by a new art of caſting types and printing*; to which he adds the city of *Mentz* as the place where they were printed; and concludes with the date of the month and year when they were finiſh'd. We ſhall only ſubjoin ſome of the oldeſt and moſt remarkable of them for the preſent.

I begin with that which is at the end of the *Codex Pſalmorum*, printed *an.* 1457, and conſequently the oldeſt book known to be printed with a date or inſcription. It is in the Emperor's library at *Vienna*; and *Peter Lambec* who was library keeper, gives this account of it[1]; that he met with one of them there printed on vellum, at the end of which was this remarkable account of the origin of printing, *viz. This preſent Book of Pſalms, embelliſh'd with beautiful capitals, and illuminated with all neceſſary*

[1] Reperi interea unum impreſſum in membrana, in cujus fine de origine artis typographicæ hoc legitur teſtimonium. „ Præſens „ pſalmorum codex, venuſtate capitalium de„ coratus, rubricationibusque ſufficienter di„ ſtinctus, ac inventione artificioſa imprimen„ di ac characteriſandi, abſque calami exaratio„ ne ſic effigiatus, ad euſebiam Dei induſtrie eſt „ conſummatus per *Johannem Fuſt* civem *Mo„ guntinum* & *Petrum Schoeffer de Gernſheim*, „ anno Domini Milleſſimo CCCCLVII in vi„ gilia aſſumptionis. „ *Lib. 2. Bibliothec. Vindobon. pag.* 989.

rubricks

rubricks, was thus form'd by an ingenious invention of printing by ſeparate Types, *without pen or writing, and finiſh'd with great care, for the ſervice of God, by* John Fauſt, *citizen of* Mentz, *and* Peter Schoeffer de Gernſheim, *in the year of our Lord* One Thouſand CCCCLVII, *on the eve of the aſſumption*, i. e. Aug. 14.

THE next impreſſion is the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* of *William Durand*, printed at *Mentz* an. 1459. in *fol.* *Malinkrot* has it, and tells us that it had been formerly bequeath'd to the monaſtery of *Galilea* near *Zutphen* (a place afterwards deſtroy'd in the civil wars,) to be kept chain'd in the library; and for which the donors were to be pray'd for, together with their whole generation. The inſcription at the end of it being exactly the ſame with that of the Book of Pſalms, needs not be repeated here. It is likewiſe mention'd by *Hoffman* in the ſecond volume of his *Lexicon Univerſale* printed at *Baſil* ann. 1677, who ſays he ſaw it in the library of that univerſity, bearing date 1459, he calls it *Officiale Durandi*, p. 508, and gives this inſcription at the end, *præſens hoc*, &c. as before.

THE next in date is the *Catholicon*, a *latin* vocabulary, the ſame which is affirm'd by *Trithemius* to have been printed in wood ſome time before 1450, and which was reprinted at *Mentz ann.* 1460. I have ſeen two of theſe books, one in the Earl of *Pembroke*'s library, and the other in the learned Dr. *Mead*'s, with this very remarkable colophon at the end;[1] „ By the aſſiſtance of the moſt high God, at whoſe nod „ the tongues of infants become eloquent, and who often reveals that „ to babes which he conceals from the wiſe, this excellent book, the „ *Catholicon* was finiſh'd in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1460, in „ the city of *Mentz* belonging to the noble *German* nation (which God „ of his goodneſs has vouchſaf'd to prefer to other nations, and of his „ free gift to make conſpicious by this glorious invention) this work was „ done, not by the help of quil, pencil or any writing inſtrument, but

[1] Altiſſimi præſidio, cujus nutu infantium linguæ fiunt diſertæ, quique nimio ſæpe parvulis revelat, quod ſapientes celat; hic liber egregius *Catholicon*, Dominicæ incarnationis anno MCCCCLX, alma in urbe *Moguntina*, nationis inclytæ *Germanicæ* (quam Dei clementia tam alto ingenii lumine, donoque gratuito, cæteris nationibus præferre illuſtrareque dignatus eſt) non calami, ſtyli, aut pennæ ſuffragio, ſed mira patronarum formarumque concordia, proportione & modulo impreſſus atque confectus eſt

Hinc tibi, ſancte Pater, Nato, cum Flamine ſacro
Laus & honor, Domino trino tribuatur & uno;
Eccleſiæ laude libro hoc Catholice plaude;
Qui laudare piam ſemper non linque *Mariam*.
Deo gratias.

„ by

„ by the agreement, ſymmetry, and proportion of the printing-preſs. „ then follows a doxology in four *latin* verſes to this purpoſe;

To thee Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, three in one, be honour and praiſe: O Catholick reader give thanks for this book in the church, and never ceaſe to praiſe the bleſſed Virgin Mary.

Thanks be to God.

THIS book, tho' it mentions not the printers, yet is eaſily known to have been done by *Fauſt* and *Schoeffer* from the likeneſs of the types, and becauſe at that time there were no other printers at *Mentz*, or any where elſe.

TWO years after this came out the great *Latin Bible* in *folio*, which I alſo ſaw in Dr. *Mead*'s library, which according to *Trithemius* and the *Cologn chronicle* muſt be the ſecond edition of it, the firſt having been printed ſoon after the year 1450, tho' without any colophon, whereas this has the following; [1] „ This preſent work was finiſh'd and compleated, „ deſignedly for the ſervice of God, in the city of *Mentz*, by *John Fauſt* „ citizen of it, and *Peter Schoeffer de Gernſheim* clerk of the ſaid dioceſs „ in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1462, on the vigil of the aſ- „ ſumption of the glorious virgin *Mary*. „

IT is unneceſſary to remark that the word *Clerk* [*Clericus*] doth not here ſignify a clergyman, for 'tis plain that *Schoeffer* was not ſo by his marrying *Fauſt*'s daughter, and leaving a ſon to ſucceed him; but it was uſual then to give that title to men of moderate literature. Father *le Long* in his *Bibliotheca ſacra* gives us the colophon of this Bible ſomething different from ours, tho' of the ſame date, the reader may ſee it at full length in the ingenious Mr. *Mattair*'s Annals *page* 60, *not.* 6.

CONCERNING this bible ſome writers give us the following account, which is not a little in favour of *Fauſt*; that it was ſo like hand-writing, and the titles and capitals ſo finely painted on vellum, that *Fauſt* ſold ſome of them at *Paris* for a prodigious price: but the buyers finding a greater number upon him, than it was poſſible for ſeveral men to tran-

[1] Præſens hoc opus finitum ac completum & ad euſebiam Dei induſtrie in civitate *Moguntina* per *Johannem Fuſt* civem, & *Petrum Schoeffer* de *Gernſheim* clericum dioceſis ejuſdem, eſt conſummatum anno incarnationis dominicæ 1462, in vigilia aſſumptionis glorioſæ virginis *Mariæ*.

ſcribe

ſcribe in their whole life, and the pages of each copy ſo exactly alike, that he was ſeiz'd, try'd and condemn'd for **Magick** and **Sorcery**, and was accordingly drag'd to the ſtake to be burnt; but upon diſcovering his Art, the parliament of *Paris* made an act to diſcharge him from all proſecution, in conſideration of his admirable invention. However 'tis not amiſs to inform the reader, that his **Black Art**, for which he was ſo roughly treated, was printing his Bible on the **Black Letter**. I ſhall in its proper place give my reaſons for my opinion, that the bible, which *Fauſt* ſold for MS. was the firſt printed by him; in the mean time this proceſs againſt him, and his diſcharge from it by order of that Parliament, being matter of fact, it was not foreign to our purpoſe to mention it here.

THE laſt book which we ſhall ſpeak of, is, *Tully*'s *Offices* printed *ann.* 1465, at the end of which are theſe words [1] „ *John Fauſt*, citizen of Mentz, *happily perfected this famous Work of* Marcus Tullius, *not with pen and ink*, &c. *but by a* new beautiful Art, *by the aſſiſtance of my Boy* Peter de Gernſheim, Feb. 4. ann. 1465, the edition at *Oxford* is dated 1466, tho' generally thought to be the ſame. This inſcription I ſaw in the book which that great Lover of the antiquities of the Art of Printing, and Promoter of learning, the Right Honourable the Earl of *Oxford*, ſhew'd me the firſt time I had the honour to wait on his Lordſhip, and to whoſe kind reception and information I ſtand greatly indebted.

THE next inſcriptions I ſhall mention, are thoſe in *Peter Schoeffer*'s name alone, in which there is a conſtant and remarkable ſtrain of gratitude and reſpect for the city of *Mentz*, from which, beſides other ample encouragements, he had receiv'd his freedom as a reward for his improvements in the art. As every one of them has an encomium upon that city, I ſhall content my ſelf with abridging ſome of the firſt, and giving the laſt, which has ſomething ſingular in it, at full length; and conclude this head with a remarkable one us'd by his ſon *John Schoeffer* at the end of ſome of his books.

IN the book call'd the *deciſions of the Rota* printed *ann.* 1477, and ſaid to be ſtill extant in the library of *Franckfort*, he ſtyles the city of *Mentz* the inventreſs and protectreſs of printing; in ſome other books,

[1] Præſens *Marci Tullii* clariſſimum opus *Johannes Fuſt Moguntinus* civis, non atramento plumali, canna, neque ærea, ſed arte quadam perpulchra manu *Petri de Gernſheim*, pueri mei, feliciter effeci, finitum *an.* MCCCCLXV die IV *Februarii*.

viz.

viz. Juſtinian's *Inſtitutions*, printed *ann.* 1468 and 1477, *&c.* he calls her the noble city which God has prefer'd to all others, and ſignaliz'd with ſuch ſuperior gifts, *&c.* the like is alſo to be ſeen at the end of *Harpianus*'s *Speculum decem præceptorum*, printed, *ann.* 1474.

THE laſt is at the end of St. *Jerom*'s *Epiſtles* in *Latin*, printed in *folio* upon vellum *ann.* 1470, one of which is in the library of St. *Victor*, and another at the College of *Sorbon* at *Paris*, [1] and runs in *Engliſh* thus;

Now it behoves us to conclude as we began,
The honour be to him, who was with us at the beginning;
And alſo honour to him, who hath been with us to the concluſion:
'Tis the churches honour to preſerve ſo many writings of her champion,
If you deſign them for any, let it be for the churches honour.

„ THIS book therefore of *Sophronius Euſebius Jerom* and [worthy its „ author] a moſt eminent defender of the orthodox church of Chriſt; or, „ if you rather chooſe to call it with me, the book of his epiſtles is fi- „ niſh'd, that the honour of *Jerom*'s name may be preſerv'd, which is „ owing to the excellent *John Andreas*, who mov'd with a devout zeal „ towards that holy man, formerly publiſh'd this work to the world. „ This book was happily finiſh'd by the art of Printing by *Peter Schoef-* „ *fer de Gernſheim* in the city of *Mentz*, to the honour of which city the „ bleſſed

[1] Vide *de la Caille*'s *hiſtory of Printing*, Paris 1689. pag. 13.

Jam decet ut noſtris concordent ultima primis.
Sit Decus illi, qui dedit hoc opus initiare;
Et qui finire dedit ipſum, ſit decus illi.
Eſt decus eccleſiæ pugilis tot ſcripta tenere:
Si quibus intendas eſt decus eccleſiæ.

Igitur *Sophronii Euſebii Ieronymi*, orthodoxæ eccleſiæ Chriſti propugnatoris clariſſimi, liber *Hieronymianus*, aut ſi mavis, quod & ipſe velim, liber epiſtolaris explicit, ut dignitas nominis *Ieronymiani* egregio viro *Joh. Andreæ* permaneat, qui hoc ipſum, zelo devotionis erga virum ſanctum affectus, tempore priſco vulgavit in orbem. Eſt autem opus præſens arte impreſſoria feliciter conſummatum per *Petrum Schoeffer de Gernſheim* in civitate *Moguntina*, cujus nobilitati vir beatus *Ieronymus* ſcribens ad *Ageruntiam* de monogamia, teſtimonium perhibet ſempiternum, multis millibus incolarum ejuſdem in eccleſia pro fide Catholica ſanguine proprio laureatis.

Huic Laudatori reddit Moguntia *vicem,*
Tot ſua ſcripta parans uſibus eccleſiæ.

Anno Domini MCCCCLXX,
ſeptima menſis *Septembris*,
quæ eſt vigilia Nativitatis *Mariæ*.
Da gloriam Deo.

„ bleſſed St. *Jerom*, writing to *Ageruntia* concerning monogamy (or mar-
„ rying but once,) has given this laſting teſtimony, that many thou-
„ ſands of its inhabitants are honour'd in the church, for having ſuffer'd
„ martyrdom in defence of the catholick faith. „

Mentz now returns him (Jerom) *praiſe for praiſe,*
by publiſhing ſo many of his writings for the ſervice of the church.

in the year of our Lord 1470, *the ſeventh day of* September, *which is the eve of the nativity of the Virgin* Mary. *Give glory to God.*

THIS is an inſtance how ready *Schoeffer* was to take all opportunities of expreſſing his love and gratitude to that city, and rendering her praiſe as laſting as his own works.

THE laſt inſcription which gives a ſuccinct account of the diſcovery, is at the end of *Trithemius*'s breviary of hiſtory, and is as follows[1]: „ This „ preſent chronological work was printed and finiſh'd *an.* 1515, on the „ eve of St. *Margaret* Virgin, in the noble and famous city of *Mentz*, „ firſt inventreſs of this art of Printing, by *John Schoeffer* grand-ſon of „ the worthy *John Fuſt* citizen of *Mentz*, the firſt author of this art, who „ found it out at length by his own ingenuity, and began to practiſe it „ *anno* 1450, in the time of the thirteenth indiction, *Frederic* III be- „ ing then Emperor, and the moſt reverend father in God *Theodorick* „ *Pincerna de Erbach* being Prince-Elector and Arch biſhop of *Mentz:*

[1] Impreſſum & completum eſt præſens Chronicorum opus *Anno Domini* MDXV, in vigilia *Margaretæ* virginis, in nobili famoſaque urbe *Moguntina*, hujus artis impreſſoriæ inventrice prima, per *Joannem Schoeffer* nepotem quondam honeſti viri *Johan. Fuſt* civis *Moguntini*, memoratæ artis primarii auctoris; qui tandem imprimendi artem proprio ingenio excogitare ſpecularique cœpit *ann. Dom.* nativitatis MCCCCL indictione xiii regnante illuſtriſſimo Romano imperatore *Frederico* III, præſidente ſanctæ *Moguntinæ* ſedi Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto patre Domino *Theodorico Pincerna de Erbach* principe Electore; *anno* autem MCCCCLII perfecit, deduxitque eam (Divina favente gratia) in opus imprimendi (opera tamen ac multis neceſſariis adinventionibus *Petri Schoeffer de Gernſheim* miniſtri ſuique filii adoptivi) cui etiam filiam ſuam *Chriſtinam Fuſti* pro digna laborum multarumque adinventionum remuneratione nuptui dedit. Retinuerunt autem hi duo jam prænunciati, *Johan. Fuſt* & *Petrus Schoeffer*, hanc artem in ſecreto (omnibus miniſtris ac familiaribus eorum, ne illam quoquo modo manifeſtarent, jurejurando adſtrictis,) quæ tandem *anno Domini* MCCCCLXII per eoſdem familiares in diverſas terrarum provincias divulgata, haud parum ſumpſit incrementum, Cum Gratia & Privilegio Cæſariæ Majeſtatis, juſſu & impenſis honeſti *Joannis Haſelperg* ex Aſia Majore Conſtant. dioceſis. *Breviar. Trithemian.* Part. I.

„ *anno*

„ *anno* 1452. he perfected this art under God, and began to put it in „ practice, with the aſſiſtance of *Peter Schoeffer de Gernſheim*, firſt a „ ſervant, and then his ſon-in-law; who having made many neceſſary in- „ ventions in it, had his Daughter *Chriſtina Fuſt* in marriage, as a juſt „ recompence for his labour, and uſeful diſcoveries. Theſe two above- „ nam'd, *viz. John Fuſt* and *Peter Schoeffer* kept this art ſecret, having „ taken an oath of all their workmen and ſervants not to divulge it „ in any manner whatſoever: but afterwards it was divulg'd by thoſe „ very workmen *anno* 1462, and ſpread it ſelf over ſeveral provinces of „ *Europe*, &c. „

THE like inſcription is at the end of the *Breviarum Mindenſe*, printed *anno* 1516, by the ſame perſon: In both which the reader will be pleas'd to obſerve, that there is not a word mention'd of *John Guttenbergh*.

UPON the whole 'tis my opinion, that were there no other evidence but theſe inſcriptions, they would be ſufficient to determine this controverſy, ſeeing neither *Harlem*, *Strasburgh*, nor any other place can produce any thing equivalent. Had *Harlem*, for inſtance, any ſuch authentick impreſſions in favour of *Coſter*, all other teſtimonies of the beſt writers for *Mentz* would have been rejected as inconſiderable: or if Dr. *Mentel* could have produc'd any ſingle book printed by his progenitor, of older or even equal date with the oldeſt of theſe, he would infallibly have triumph'd over all his antagoniſts. 'Tis certain that there is no book known to be printed at *Harlem* or any other place, of equal date with the laſt which were done by *Fauſt*, tho' it has been prov'd, that he continu'd printing near ten years before he put his name to his impreſſions: whence it follows, that he was not only the firſt Printer with fuſile metal types, but likewiſe the firſt inventor of them, according to the teſtimonies quoted in the preceding chapter.

I doubt not but the reader is now willing to hear what methods the competitors with *Fauſt* take, in order to evade ſuch a cloud of authentick teſtimonies; and what arguments they can allege in defence of their claim: in ſhort, what grounds they have of triumphing in ſuch an extraordinary manner. But I muſt here acquaint him, that if he expects evidence anſwerable to thoſe clamours, he will be extremely diſappointed in the two next chapters. However, ſince a controverſy cannot be fairly

decided, unleſs both parties be heard in their turn ; I ſhall not deſire the reader to believe me implicitly, but propoſe their pretenſions in as juſt a light, and brief a manner as poſſible, together with the anſwers of *Malinkrot* and others to them ; to which I ſhall take the liberty to add my own thoughts and obſervations, whether they chance to illuſtrate and confirm, or to contradict the concurrent teſtimony of the early, and the eſtabliſh'd notion, of the modern writers, upon the ſubject, and leave it to him to judge of the merit of the cauſe.

I hope what I ſaid laſt will not be look'd upon as either a piece of preſumption or oſtentation in me : no man can be more ready, than I am, to own the great helps I have receiv'd from theſe great men, eſpecially from *Malinkrot*, *Chevalier*, *Mattaire*, *Orlandi* and ſome others of leſs note, or my own inſufficiency for ſuch a work as this, without ſuch an aſſiſtance ; but tho' they are all great and learned men in their way, yet for want of a ſufficient acquaintance with the buſineſs of Printing, it was impoſſible for them not to overlook ſome things of moment, which a printer would eaſily diſcover at firſt ſight, *viz.* Whether a book be MS. or printed ; whether printed from pages of wood or with ſeparate types, in both which reſpects, many of them have been either puzled or miſtaken : I ſhall add but one inſtance more, not foreign to our purpoſe ; the famous Monſ. *Naudé* directed his readers how to know the books printed by *Fauſt* by the mark in the paper, which he calls the *Heifer's Horns* ; Mr. *Mattaire*, who has been as curious and diligent as any one, tells us he could never obſerve that mark or any thing like it, whereas the very firſt book the Earl of *Pembroke* ſhew'd me of *Fauſt*'s printing, by holding a leaf againſt the light, the mark appear'd very plain ; I ſhall beg leave to add, that the hints and helps I have had from the curious and learned, and my acceſs to ſeveral noble libraries, have moreover enabled me to make many more curious obſervations, on this ſubject, than I could otherwiſe have done. Let this be ſaid once for all.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Pretenſions of Harlem *examin'd and confuted.*

I Have more than once hinted, that this controverſy in favour of *Harlem* was not ſtarted till above 125 years after the diſcovery of the art, when *Hadrian Junius*, M. D. began the diſpute. During that long interval, the invention was univerſally aſcribed to the city of *Mentz*, tho' the names of the inventors were ſometimes confounded; and what ought to ſurpriſe us moſt of all is, that not one *Dutch* writer, during that time, ever offer'd to contradict the received opinion concerning *Fauſt* and *Mentz*; tho' many of them were men of great learning, and ſome either natives of *Harlem*, or had been educated in that univerſity. 'Tis really wonderful, that neither regard to truth, or their country's honour, nor the common ambition of being the author of a new diſcovery, ſhould have inſpir'd ſome of them to undeceive the world in this point, if they had the leaſt grounds of ſuſpicion. But whatever be the reaſon of this unpardonable ſupineneſs in them, Dr. *Junius*, rather than fall under ſuch a charge, undertook a task, as difficult as that *Egyptian* one, of making brick without ſtraw. For from a collection of old traditions, wooden types, and two or three books, printed on wood, without name, date, or any other mark (by which it might be gueſs'd when, where, and by whom they were done), with ſome other tranſmuted relicks of the firſt eſſays of the art, he has form'd a ſtory, which he thinks will baffle all the teſtimonies urg'd on the other ſide, and turn the panegyricks, beſtow'd by the learned on the noble inventor, into the vileſt calumnies. As his ſtory is very prolix, and unneceſſary to be ſet down at length, the following abſtract may ſuffice.

„ THO' the glory of this art is entirely due to the city of *Harlem*; „ yet I am ſenſible how deep the contrary notion in favour of *Mentz* is „ rooted in the minds of men. —— Were I bleſt with that eloquence which „ *Carneades* is ſo fam'd for, who never affirm'd any thing but what he ful-

„ ly

„ ly prov'd, nor oppos'd any error, but what he clearly confuted; I „ might have juſt hopes to reduce this ſtol'n glory to its owner, and „ bring to light the truth, which has ſo long lain hid in *Democritus*'s „ well. —— For if thoſe antients, who contended for the invention of „ letters, in behalf of their favourite heroes, have merited ſuch ap- „ plauſe; what hinders but that I, influenc'd neither by partiality to „ one place, nor envy towards another, but with a ſincere love to truth, „ ſhould appear in ſo juſt a cauſe, which has been ſuffer'd to ſink for want „ of advocates? —— And if *Plutarch* eſteems him the beſt evidence, „ who is not byaſs'd by favour or affection; I have a ſufficient claim to „ it, ſince none of *Coſter*'s poſterity can reward me for my performance. „ I ſhall therefore relate what has been told me by ſome grave and „ worthy old *Gentlemen*, who have fill'd the beſt offices in the city, and „ heard it from others of equal weight and authority; *viz.* That about „ 128 years ago, there liv'd at a noted houſe, ſtanding to this day, „ over againſt the Royal Palace, one *Laurence John*, ſirnam'd *Coſter*, „ (which word ſignifies a ſexton or church-warden; or, in the *Romiſh* „ ſenſe one who is intruſted with all the rich plate, ſumptuous robes, *&c.* „ belonging to the pariſh church; a place hereditary in his family,) „ who was the perſon to whom the Art of Printing owes its original, „ tho' he has been unjuſtly depriv'd of that honour. —— That walking „ by chance in an adjacent wood, according to cuſtom, after a full meal, „ or on holy-days, he cut ſome letters out of the bark of beech-trees; „ which being inverted and joyn'd together, he began to print ſome „ words, and then whole lines, in hopes that this might turn to the „ advantage of his grand-children: that the ſucceſs of this prompted „ him to greater diſcoveries, he being a man of an extraordinary geni- „ us: that he with *Thomas Peter* his ſon-in-law, finding the common ink „ apt to ſpread, invented a more glutinous ſort, and began to print „ whole pages; of which kind I ſaw ſome eſſays in an anonymous „ work, printed only on one ſide, and entitled the *Mirour of our Salvati-* „ *on*, written in *Low Dutch*, the white ſides of the paper being glew'd „ together to hide the chaſms: that after this he chang'd his wooden let- „ ters into lead; and then into tin, which was ſtill harder and more du- „ rable: ſome of theſe old types being caſt into drinking-cups are ſtill

„ to

„ to be ſeen at the aforeſaid houſe, out of which *Gerard Thomas*, *Coſter*'s
„ great-grand-ſon, dy'd a few years ago. But as all new inventions
„ meet with encouragement, this art began to require a greater number
„ of hands, which prov'd the firſt cauſe of miſchief to this family: for
„ one of his ſervants nam'd *John* (but whether *Fauſt* or not I ſhall not
„ now enquire) being employ'd in this buſineſs, after having taken an
„ oath of ſecrecy, had no ſooner learn'd, as he thought, the method
„ of caſting and joining the fuſile types, *&c.* but he took the next op-
„ portunity of robbing his maſter of all his printing-tools, together with
„ his art: to which end he choſe the night before *Chriſtmaſs*, as the
„ moſt proper for his deſign, when the whole family, with the reſt of
„ the city were at church at midnight-maſs. Thence he eſcap'd to
„ *Amſterdam*, next to *Cologn*, and at laſt ſettled at *Mentz*; where the
„ year following, *viz. ann.* 1442 he printed *Alexandri Galli doctrinale*, a
„ grammar much in vogue at that time, with thoſe very types that his
„ maſter *Coſter* had us'd before.

„ THIS is the ſubſtance of what I had from thoſe gentlemen of vera-
„ city, who told me they had it handed down by tradition; and this
„ has been likewiſe confirm'd to me by others of equal repute. I re-
„ member to have heard my tutor *Nich. Gallius*, an old gentleman of a
„ very tenacious memory, ſay, that when he was a boy, he heard one
„ *Cornelius* a printer, an old man, who had been one of *Coſter*'s workmen,
„ mention the ſtory of the firſt trials of printing, with a great deal
„ of vehemence, and even with tears, eſpecially when he came to the
„ thieviſh part of it; proteſting he could execute the rogue himſelf with
„ the utmoſt pleaſure, if he had been alive then; curſing thoſe nights,
„ in which, for near three months together, he had lain with ſo vile a
„ miſcreant. A ſtory like this one *Quirinus Taleſius* reports that he had
„ heard from the ſame Printer.

„ THIS is what my ſincere love of truth oblig'd me to publiſh, what-
„ ever the conſequence be,—— but I am fearful that prejudice in this
„ caſe will out-balance reaſon and authority. The paſſing of this in-
„ vention into *Germany* in a lawful way had been no harm; nay, I be-
„ lieve that it pleaſed God to make it the means of perfecting and di-
„ vulging ſo uſeful an art, *&c.* „

HERE

HERE is all that our author could collect in defence of his cauſe, which he has made the beſt of after his way: it were indeed to be wiſh'd, the Doctor had rather imitated the modeſty of *Carneades*, than wiſh'd for his eloquence; ſince that great philoſopher (however he ſeems to forget it) never was known to affirm any thing. Convinc'd as he was of the weakneſs of human underſtanding, and of the power of prejudice; he always contented himſelf with confuting the opinions of others, without ever ſhewing that he held any of his own: but ſuch an excellent talent would have ſpoil'd his deſign, and condemn'd both his book and his old men's fables to obſcurity and oblivion, and ſaved ſome other authors the trouble of writing in the vindication of either; but tho' he has been follow'd by about a dozen of his country-men, yet no additional teſtimonies are to be expected from any of them: for even *Boxhorn*, who wrote with the greateſt vehemence and ſpleen againſt *Malinkrot*, has been oblig'd to content himſelf with palliating the account of *Junius*, and endeavouring to ſhew, that it is not quite ſo improbable as his antagoniſt hath repreſented it. However it muſt be owned, that except the two laſt nam'd authors, and one or two more, *viz.* *Berchius* and *Scriverius*, the firſt of whom has been confuted by *Nicholas Serrarius* a Jeſuit in his book *de rebus Moguntinis*, *lib.* 1. *Cap.* 36, 37, 38, and 39; and the later by the learned Monſ. *Naudé*, *George Draude* and others; I ſay except theſe, all the reſt write more moderately, without invectives or ill language, and ſome of them even with doubt; whilſt others modeſtly contend only for the invention of printing on wooden-planks, leaving that of metal types to *Fauſt:* but even this is inconſiſtent with the ſtory of *Junius*, who aſſerts *Coſter* to be the inventor of them both, and *Fauſt* the thief. It would be ſuperfluous to multiply quotations out of the writers on the ſide of *Harlem*, ſince they follow *Junius* upon his bare teſtimony; and a confutation of him will eaſily diſpatch all the reſt. I ſhall therefore examine the probability of his account, and ſee how far it outweighs the teſtimonies and authorities alleg'd on the other ſide: in the execution of this, the beſt method will be to follow the ſteps of the learned *Malinkrot*, who has ſufficiently expos'd the numerous abſurdities, which this ſtory is attended with. Setting aſide therefore the oddneſs of *Coſter*'s fancy, in chuſing to make his firſt letters of the bark of beech, which

which will bend whilſt green, and break when dry; whilſt the wood itſelf would have been much more proper to bear the weight of the preſs; and the improbability of his changing them into metal ones, which is barely aſſerted by *Junius*, and contradicted by *Berkius*, *Boxhorn*, and other *Dutch* writers, as we hinted before: nothing can be more ridiculous than the converting thoſe types into drinking cups to perpetuate the memory of their diſcovery; they had certainly been more authentick in their former ſtate; at leaſt, if ſome notable work or inſcription had been printed with them: or would it not have been a better method to celebrate the name of the inventor, to have diſtributed annually a portion of wine out of them, in order to inſpire their poets with ſongs in his honour and *Fauſt*'s ſhame; or to have hang'd them up, as trophies, in the town-hall or great church, *&c.* with reſpect to the ſtolen types, (which were turn'd to a better purpoſe by the thief, who the next year printed with them *Alexandri doctrinale*, and the works of *Petrus Hiſpanus*, if *Junius* may be credited, who was the firſt that ſaid or thought of this;) well might *Serrarius* ſay after the Emperor *Julian*, *Who will be found innocent, if one accuſation makes a man guilty?* One would naturally think that this ſtory was devis'd in the woods and walks about *Harlem*; for ſeveral of the writers before mention'd, and particularly the *Colognian Chronicle* alleg'd by *Boxhorn*, agree that the *Latin* bible was the firſt book printed by *Fauſt* at *Mentz*. 'Tis ſurprizing that theſe gentlemen of *Harlem* ſhould pretend to tell us what was done with their types in the very heart of *Germany*, and yet be entirely ignorant of what was done in their own city: beſides at that time it is certain, as we have already ſhewn, that ſeparate types of any ſort of metal were unknown —— But to proceed; this treacherous ſervant, it ſeems, went off at 12 a-clock at night, when the whole family was at church. — It is highly improbable, that a *Dutchman* ſhould leave his ſhop ſo open and expo'd at that time of night, when it was fill'd with all the tools and apparatus of an invention ſo important, and known only to himſelf and his man: for it is downright abſurdity to think, that he might depend on the oath, with which he had engaged the latter to ſecrecy. Such a night as that, wherein the inhabitants of the city were going to or coming from maſs, was by no means proper for ſuch a deſign; and ſuppoſing he might have paſs'd undiſturb'd with his ſtolen

treaſure, yet he could not with the ſame facility paſs thro' the gates, or leap over the walls, with at leaſt a thouſand weight of letters on his back: or if his booty was thoſe wooden planks, with which the two large books mention'd before were printed, as ſome of the *Dutch* writers ſeem to hint againſt *Junius*, it was ſufficient to load two or three carts: that he ſhould go with them to *Amſterdam*, then to *Cologn*, and at laſt to *Mentz*, without being taken notice of, is no leſs aſtoniſhing. I ſhall not inſiſt upon his raſhneſs in chuſing to go thro' ſuch publick roads and noted cities, and thereby running the danger of being ſeized; the conſequence of which would have been capital puniſhment: nor upon the unaccountable ſupineneſs of his maſter in not purſuing nor cauſing him to be apprehended, when he open'd ſhop at *Mentz*, where he could eaſily have reach'd him: nor yet upon the probability, that the publick muſt have been obliged, by this daring attempt of robbing the country of ſuch a glorious diſcovery, to proſecute the robber with the utmoſt ſeverity where ever he could be found.

In the next place ſhould we grant that *Fauſt*, or ſome other ſervants had ſtollen the types; does it neceſſarily follow that he carry'd away the art with them? Could neither *Coſter*, nor his ſon-in-law and aſſiſtant *Tho. Peter*, nor any of his grand-children, recover a new preſs, caſt new types, and publiſh ſomething that might expoſe the thief, and ſhew to whom the world was indebted for this invention? Beſides, it appears from *Junius* that ſome of the types were left behind, which were afterwards transformed into drinking-veſſels: if theſe were not ſufficient to ſet them to work again, the interval of ten years, *viz.* from the pretended robbery *anno* 1441, to the divulging of the art *anno* 1452, was more than enough to have compleated a new ſet; ſeeing the firſt inventors deviſ'd, try'd, and perfected this method in leſs time. But 'tis urg'd that *Coſter* dy'd either of grief or otherwiſe before he had brought the art to any perfection; ſo that *Harlem* was anticipated by *Mentz*. This is affirmed by *Majolus* and *Quadi*, tho' without grounds; for *Junius* tells us, that he invented the ſeparate metal types, as well as wooden-blocks; and met with ſuch encouragement that people came far and near to purchaſe his books, tho' at very dear rates: now if he was alive, as *he* and *Berkius* relate, *anno* 1447, ſix years after this pretended flight; during that interval

terval he might have renew'd his works, there being no want of buyers, and inſcrib'd his books after this or ſome ſuch manner; *This work was done at* Harlem *by* L. J. Coſter, *the inventor of this art of printing*, &c. *and not by that notorious pretender* John Fauſt, *who ſtole my art and inſtruments, and is ſet up at* Mentz, *&c.* But nothing of this nature was ever done by *Coſter* or his poſterity; which is a plain indication that this whole ſtory is, what *Salmuth* and other learned writers affirm it to be, a mere old wife's fable without foundation or even probability. How the deviſers and publiſhers of it can maintain it with ſo much poſitiveneſs and vehemence, with ſuch calumnies, invectives and ill language, againſt perſons of incomparable learning, who could not give into ſuch an abſurd and legendary account, is not my buſineſs to enquire. I ſhall only obſerve, that their charge upon a man of ſuch conſpicuous merit as *John Fauſt* recoils with double force and ſhame upon themſelves; for it proves them guilty of a crime more flagrant than what they accuſe him of, in endeavouring to deprive him not only of the glory of that invention, in order to fix it upon an imaginary country-man of theirs; but even of what is moſt valuable in the world, his reputation, upon the bare teſtimony and tradition of three old citizens, whoſe memory is as juſtly queſtionable, as their and *Junius*'s impartiality, in a caſe wherein the honour of their city and fellow-citizens is concern'd; and what is ſtill a greater aggravation of their unjuſt calumny, to make uſe of *Fauſt*'s noble diſcovery to publiſh and perpetuate his ſhame, whoſe honour and memory ought rather to have been celebrated by it: little did that good man think, that his art would ever be put to ſo vile a uſe againſt himſelf.

In the mean time, I muſt not omit to remark, that of all the writers, whom we have quoted for *Mentz*, and of many more collected by the diligent *Malinkrot* in his *Hiſtory of Printing*, there is not one native of that city. *Munſter* indeed was born near it, but educated at a greater diſtance; and *Serrarius*, tho' he liv'd ſometime there, was born in *Lorain*; yet if ſuch an objection had been juſt againſt ten or twelve of 'em, there remains enough to fix the laurel on *Fauſt*'s head. But with reſpect to the old evidences of *Harlem*, we only know what *Junius* is pleas'd to tell us of them, that they were perſons who ſerv'd ſeveral conſiderable offices in the city. However *Malinkrot* makes a very ſhrewd remark upon one of

them, *viz. Cornelius* the Printer, who in a ſally of paſſion wiſh'd *Fauſt* had been then alive, that he might have executed him with his own hands; and was at that time, as *Junius* relates, above eighty years old: now as this theft is pretended to have been committed *anno* 1441, and it appears from an edition of *Tully*'s *offices* that *Fauſt* was living *anno* 1466; it is plain that in this ſpace of 25 years *Cornelius* might have had an opportunity of gratifying his revenge upon him if he had thought fit. This circumſtance therefore, which was contriv'd to add weight to the ſtory, ſerves only to burleſque and overthrow it.

I fear the reader is more weary of this argument than I could wiſh; ſince there are two or three new allegations out of thoſe who followed *Junius*, which tho' of ſmall weight, I would willingly examine before I diſmiſs this chapter; tho' it were only to ſhew what ſhifts they are driven to, who undertake to ſupport the credit of *Junius*'s legend; and to let the world judge whether ſuch arguments are not more likely to overthrow than maintain this cauſe. I ſhall here propoſe 'em with the utmoſt brevity.

BOXHORN, in his *Theatrum Hollandiæ*, triumphs upon the evidence of two eminent writers, whom he has violently wreſted to ſpeak in defence of his claim. One is the author of the *Cologn Chronicle*; the other *Mariangelus Accurſius*, a learned man, who flouriſh'd in *Italy* about the beginning of the ſixteenth century. The former writes to this purpoſe [1], that „ altho' the Art of Printing had been found out at *Mentz*, in the manner we now have it, yet the firſt hints or pattern was taken from the „ *Donatus* of *Holland*, which had been printed there; that the aforeſaid „ art took its origin from them, tho' the latter invention is much ſuperior in contrivance and ingenuity. „ 'Tis to be obſerv'd by the bye, that this author wrote in the year 1499, almoſt 50 years after the diſcovery, and had theſe particulars from *Ulric Zel* an old bookſeller then living at *Cologn*. The next teſtimony is a paſſage written by *Accurſius* upon the

[1] *Chronic. Colonienſ.* Quamvis autem, ut præmittitur, *Moguntiæ* ars hæc inventa fuerit, eo modo quo nunc temporis communiter uſurpatur; prima tamen ejus præfiguratio, ſeu ſimulacrum ex *Donatis Hollandiæ* reperta & deſumpta fuit, qui ibi ante id tempus excuſi fuerunt; e quo illis principium artis depromptum eſt: at poſterior hæc inventio priore, quoad artificium & ſubtilitatem, longe præſtantior fuit.

N. B. The author wrote this *chronicle* in *High Dutch*, but I could never procure the original, and have been oblig'd to make uſe of *Malinkrot*'s tranſlation of it.

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firſt leaf of a *Donatus* printed at *Mentz* by *John Fauſt*, as follows[1]. „ *John Fauſt* citizen of *Mentz*, grand-father by mother's ſide of *John* „ *Shepherd*, was the firſt that devis'd this Art of Printing with braſs types, „ which he afterwards chang'd for leaden ones: his ſon *Peter Schoeffer* „ added many other improvements to the art: this *Donatus* and the „ *Confeſſionalia* were firſt printed in the year 1450. He certainly took „ the hint from the *Donatus* printed before in *Holland* upon wooden „ planks. „ What this *Donatus* and other books of that ſort were, and whether really done in wood or otherwiſe, with ſome other particularities relating to them, ſhall be conſider'd in a diſtinct chapter: our preſent enquiry is how far they make for the cauſe of the *Dutch* writers.

We will ſuppoſe that *Ulric Zel* was a man of as good a memory as thoſe mention'd by *Junius*; and that the ſecond paſſage quoted was actually written by *Accurſius*, which is far from being certain: let us now examine what both theſe writers do, and what they do not, affirm. They affirm, 1. that this method of printing by fuſile types was found out at *Mentz* by *John Fauſt*, and improv'd by his ſon-in-law *Peter Schoeffer*: 2. that they printed ſome books in the year 1450: 3. that there was a *Donatus* printed before that time upon wooden planks in *Holland*: and 4. that from the hint, or, as the chronicler terms it, the model or pattern [**vorbildung**] of thoſe wooden planks, *Fauſt* began the new way of printing by fuſile types; tho' this laſt article ſeems only a conjecture of theirs.

THEY do not affirm, 1. that the old method of printing on wood was the foundation of the new one: 2. that this *Donatus* was printed at *Harlem* rather than at any other place, or by *Coſter* than any other perſon: tho' if they had aſſerted this, it ought to be examin'd how they got that intelligence; ſeeing it was not known in *Holland ann.* 1575. in which year *Junius* dy'd, that any ſuch book had been printed there; for that author, who was indefatigable in collecting whatever favour'd his cauſe, would never have fail'd to mention it; and *Joſ. Scaliger*, tho' he ſince de-

[1] *Joannes Fauſt* civis *Moguntinus*, avus maternus *Joannis Schoeffer*, primus excogitavit imprimendi artem typis æreis, quos deinde plumbeos invenit; multaque ad poliendam artem addidit ejus filius *Schoeffer*: impreſſus eſt autem hic *Donatus* & *Confeſſionalia* primo omnium *anno* 1450, admonitus certe fuit ex *Donato Hollandiæ* prius impreſſo in tabula inciſa. *Theatr. Holland.* p. 138.

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clar'd himſelf for *Harlem*, formerly attributed this rude invention to the city of *Dort:* 3. they don't affirm that this *Donatus* was printed before the *Catholicon* of *Mentz*, wherein lies the main point; for tho' they ſay it was done before *Fauſt* had perfected his invention, yet it does not follow that it was before he had begun to print with wooden planks. Nothing therefore can be gather'd from theſe authors, even with reſpect to this invention in wood, that favours *Coſter* or *Harlem* more than *Fauſt* or *Mentz*.

I have already obſerv'd that ſome of the *Dutch* writers are for dividing the glory between thoſe two corrivals, and particularly *Peter Berchius:* in this he is follow'd by no leſs an author than *Boxhorn*, ſo often mention'd for his zeal in this diſpute. He finding the impoſſibility of defending all the aſſertions of *Junius*, is willing to come to a compoſition. His words are theſe: [1] „ It will be no difficulty to reconcile this „ great and weighty controverſy, which has exercis'd the greateſt wits of „ the age, if we will, as indeed we ought, yield the honour of the old „ wooden invention to *Coſter* of *Harlem*, and that of metal types to *John* „ *Fauſt* citizen of *Mentz*. „ But this accommodation is attended with this diſadvantage, that it will ſet the *Dutch* writers at variance not only with one another, but alſo with themſelves; whereas 'tis much better in my opinion, to continue in war with the whole world, than to bring a domeſtick one into their own bowels. A conſequence ſtill worſe is inevitable; for what will become of the pompous ſtory of *Fauſt*'s robbery? And of thoſe creditable evidences mention'd by *Junius?* Would not they with the utmoſt vehemence proteſt againſt ſuch a partition treaty? And old *Cornelius* the falſe accuſer, deſerve the moſt ſanguinary treatment to be retaliated on him from ſome angry *Moguntine?* Will not the drinking cups, thoſe noble relicks of *Coſter*'s metal types, run the riſque of being turn'd into veſſels of diſhonour? And all the inſcriptions in his praiſe, his ſtatues, and even his houſe at *Harlem*, be liable to ſome ſuch diſmal fate. — If we ſhould yield them this invention of wooden planks, ſo

[1] Sed non difficile eſt hanc tam gravem ac tam nobilem controverſiam, & quæ clariſſima noſtri ævi ingenia exercuit, componere, nempe, ſi vel id, quod res eſt, concedamus, typos quidem ligneos a *Laurentio Harlemenſi* primum fuiſſe inventos, typos vero ſtanneos, æreos, & plumbeos ad horum exemplar efformatos eſſe a *Joanne Fauſto* cive *Moguntino*. Boxhorn *Th. at. Holland.*

eagerly

eagerly contended for; or agree with the more moderate of their writers that *Fauſt* and *Coſter*, tho' at ſo great a diſtance, happen'd upon it together; or grant to *Boxhorn*, that *Harlem* was the mother, and *Mentz* the nurſe of theſe two diſcoveries; and that the one is but an improvement of the other: yet *Coſter* would not have deſerv'd half of the incenſe beſtow'd on him; nor *Fauſt* the leaſt part of the calumnies which he has ſuffer'd. In vain were ſuch ſhifts and forgeries uſed to deprive him of ſo ſmall and inconſiderable ſhare of his glory; whilſt the far greateſt part of it, which could not be touch'd, was more than ſufficient to make him outſhine and even eclipſe his rival, for whoſe ſake he was ſo ungratefully treated. Had not he been bleſs'd with a genius vaſtly ſuperior to that of his ſuppos'd competitor, or contented himſelf without aiming at a more uſeful and expeditious method than the firſt; the common wealth of letters had receiv'd as little advantage from his diſcovery, as his own name and memory from thoſe *Dutch* writers, were they the only perſons to tranſmit them to poſterity. However if their partiality, and adherence to *Junius*, have influenc'd them ſo far as to make ſuch returns for thoſe improvements, which they are oblig'd to acknowledge that he made; common juſtice will oblige me to acquaint the reader, that other writers of that country, of equal learning, and a more generous nature, have been ſo far from joyning with them, that they have aſcrib'd the invention to *Fauſt* alone. I have before quoted an encomium of the great *Eraſmus* upon him and his art, and ſhall cloſe this chapter with another out of the learned *Opmer* of *Amſterdam*, who dy'd about the year 1595, *i. e.* 20 years after *Junius*, and has left us the following teſtimony in his poſthumous book of *Chronography*:[1] — ,, This year 1440 the art of printing began

[1] Etenim hoc anno *Moguntiæ* a *Joanne Fauſto* ars imprimendi exerceri coepta eſt, fuerat is avus *Joannis Shoefferi* chalcographi noſtræ ætatis, vir dignus ut celebretur. ——

Quid? quod ſub mundi veſperam, inſtante ſupremo jam die, inter caliginoſas impiorum atque diſcordiarum feralium procellas raræ pietatis, ſummæque doctrinæ non pauci inſtar micantium ſyderum emicaſſe cernuntur; ut crederes orbem a graviore morbo convaluiſſe, atque amiſſas eloquentiæ artiumque vires ſenſim recollegiſſe; opitulante diſciplinis arte illa, qua plumbeis literarum characteribus ingenioſe fuſis, atque ſcribendi ratione optime compoſitis, atramentoque madefactis convenienter ac prælo compreſſis, diverſarum linguarum libri numeroſo quaſi partu in quamplurima exemplaria in lucem producuntur: *Typographiæ* arti nomen dedere, ac per *Joannem Fauſtum* anno 1440 excogitatam in lucem produxiſſe certiſſime conſtat. Mirum tanti artificii repertorem, & divinarum humanarumque diſciplinarum generoſum adminiſtrum a *Germanicarum* rerum ſcriptore indigno plane ornari elogio: fuit certe vir ille immortalis memoriæ digniſſimus, & acutiſſimis ingeniis annumerandus. *Opmer. op. poſth, p.* 703. *edit. Colon.*

„ began to be exercis'd at *Mentz* by *John Fauſt*, who was the grandfa-
„ ther of *John Schoeffer* (a printer of this age,) and worthy the higheſt
„ encomiums.„ In another place (in the beginning of the 4th book) there is the following elegant panegyrick upon the art and inventor: — „ that
„ at the decline of the world, when the laſt day ſeem'd to approach, ſo
„ many men of accompliſh'd learning and ſingular piety ſhould break
„ forth, like bright ſtars, with unuſual luſtre thro' the tempeſtuous clouds
„ of deadly diſcord; ſo that you would have thought the world had been
„ recover'd from a long diſeaſe, and gradually reaſſumed its loſt ſtrength,
„ the arts and ſciences: this was effected by the aſſiſtance of that art,
„ which from metal characters of letters ingeniouſly caſt, diſpos'd in the
„ order in which we write, ſpread over with a convenient quantity of
„ ink, and put under the preſs, has uſher'd into the world, books in all
„ languages, and multiplied their copies like a numerous off-ſpring,
„ and has obtain'd the name of Typography. This *art of Printing* was
„ moſt certainly invented and brought to light by *John Fauſt* in the year
„ 1440. It is amazing that the author of ſo important a diſcovery, and
„ ſo generous a promoter of divine and human learning, ſhould be un-
„ worthily traduc'd by a writer of the *German* affairs: ſurely ſuch a per-
„ ſon deſerves eternal remembrance, and a place amongſt men of the
„ brighteſt genius. „ —— Who this *German* writer was our author no where tells us; but it ſeems as if his unnatural uſage of his own countryman had taken off *Opmer*'s wonder at the like treatment from the *Dutch* writers. If it ſhould be asked what converts theſe laſt have made among other nations, I can only anſwer, that I know of none.

THE generality of writers have eſteem'd *Junius*'s ſtory unworthy of either credit or confutation; and if any of the moderns ſeem neuter or doubtful in this caſe, it is more owing to a peculiar affectation of modeſty, than either to any deſign of complimenting the *Dutch*, or fear of being miſtaken in ſo evident a matter.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

An Enquiry into the firſt Books *printed on* Blocks *of* Wood, *viz. the* Donatus, Speculum, *&c.*

AS the reader may reaſonably think, there is ſomething excellent in theſe Books, either for beauty of impreſſion, learning, correctneſs, *&c.* from the great noiſe which they have made among the writers of this controverſy; I muſt begin with acquainting him that their whole merit conſiſts only in their being look'd upon by them as the very firſt eſſays of the art of printing, even before the invention of fuſile types. This is ſo far from admitting of any controverſy, however ſome of them may have been miſled into a contrary opinion, that their being printed only on one ſide of the paper, and afterwards glew'd together, on the blank ſide, from which they were call'd *paginæ conglutinatæ*, is a very pregnant proof of their being done after the firſt method, *viz.* upon wooden blocks; tho' we ſhall not only corroborate the fact by many other undeniable arguments in the ſequel of this chapter, but even lead the reader into ſo plain a method of judging of thoſe works, from thoſe printed by fuſile types, that he will not have the leaſt room left to doubt of it.

As for the *Donatus*, ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon, by *Bertius* and others, in favour of *Harlem*, it is a queſtion whether there be one copy of it extant, ſeeing 'tis not to be met with in any of thoſe curious libraries I have either ſeen or heard of, nor could ever be procured by any of our ſearchers into theſe antient monuments, tho' they have ſpar'd neither pains nor coſt to have it ſought for far and near: to which let me add, that no author I am acquainted with, has pretended to have ſeen it, if we except *Angel Rocha*, who in his *Bibliotheca Vaticana*, printed at *Rome* in the year 1591, 4*to*. pag. 411, tells us, that *Aldus Manutius*, *junr*. ſhew'd him a grammar of *Donatus* printed on vellum, upon one of the firſt white leaves of which *Mariangelus Accurſius*, a learned author living in *Italy* about the year 1500 had wrote, as he ſuppos'd, with his own hand, the following words in latin, „ that this *Donatus*, and another book entitled *Confeſſio-*

nalia were the firſt printed books, and that *John Fauſt* citizen of *Mentz*, and firſt inventor of the Art of Printing, had printed them *ann.* 1450, as has been ſaid in the laſt chapter.

FROM this account of *Accurſius* it is plain: *firſt*, that this *Donatus* bore neither date nor name of place or printer, otherwiſe he need not to have been at the trouble of gueſſing at them. *Secondly*, That *Donatus* is the name of the author, not of the book; and that it was only a grammar for boys, for ſo *Rocha* calls it in the place before quoted; to which we may add, that in the laſt liſt which the firſt Printers at *Rome* gave of their works to the Pope, they call it *Donatus pro pueris*; ſo that it could not be ſuch a trifling thing as ſome authors have thought it, who only call it a Primer. The *third* thing I would obſerve from this paſſage is, that *John Fauſt*, who is here call'd the firſt inventor of printing, is affirm'd to have printed it at *Mentz:* but what has puzled the world is, what the ſame author adds at the end of the paſſage, *viz. that* Fauſt *did certainly take the hint from the* Donatus *in* Holland, *firſt printed on Blocks of wood*; which for that very reaſon, thoſe authors who have follow'd him, have thought fit to make 10 years older, and have ſuppos'd them printed about the year 1440. I might indeed have omitted this paſſage, ſeeing *Accurſius* ſeems to hint that this book of his was printed by fuſile types; but as it was the only one that has been ſeen by any author, and confirms ſome of our former aſſertions, I thought it would not be amiſs to inſert it, eſpecially conſidering that it was not impoſſible for *Accurſius* to be miſtaken in his judgment, of its being printed after the new method of ſeparate types, as many other learned men have been in the like caſe. The merit of this quotation has been examin'd in the laſt chapter, and it is plain that all the authors that have mention'd the date of this book, ſuch as *Beughen*, *Boxhorn*, *Bertius*, and others have taken it upon truſt, as well as what they affirm of its being done upon wooden blocks, ſince none of them pretend either to have ſeen it, or to have taken it from any author that had: and if we ſhould admit what *Accurſius* affirms, that thoſe ſuppos'd *dutch ones* were older than this he wrote upon, it will make it ſtill plainer that they had neither date, printer, nor place's name; ſince this, which is ſuppos'd ten years younger, is without any of them. The ſame may be ſaid of the other books I am now going to give an account of, *viz.* the

Speculum,

Speculum, *Ars moriendi*, &c. which are in the Earl of *Pembroke*'s curious collection, none of which, tho' they ſeem to be improvements of one another, has the leaſt mention of time, place, or printer.

However, as to their being engraven upon wooden blocks, and conſequently being the firſt eſſays, or as ſome antiquaries call them, the firſt *Maculatures* of the art, I am fully convinc'd, both by the ink with which they are printed, *viz.* the common writing ink, and by ſome undoubted trials I have made of them. I ſhall therefore lay down the following rules to diſtinguiſh between books printed on blocks of wood and ſeparate metal types.

Firſt, Let an **m**, **w**, or any other remarkable letter, be curiouſly examin'd both as to its length, breadth and ſhape, and compare it with the ſame letter in another word, if they vary either in ſimilitude or ſize, you may be aſſur'd they are not metal types, ſince the moſt curious letter-cutter, writing-maſter, or engraver, cannot make any two letters ſo alike, but a nice obſerver will diſtinguiſh one from the other : on the contrary, in ſeparate metal types each letter being caſt in the ſame matrice, it is impoſſible there ſhould be the leaſt difference either in ſhape or ſize.

Secondly, Another way is by chooſing any word, the longer the better, take the length of it with the points of the compaſs, and compare it with the ſame word in another place, and if you find them both of the ſame length, you may depend upon their being printed with ſeparate metal types ; for as each letter is caſt in the ſame mould, it is impoſſible that their length ſhould vary : but in writing and engraving there will be a viſible difference in the ſame word in various places.

Thirdly, Meaſure the length of a page ; tell the number of lines in a full one, and take the white ſpaces between each line, and by comparing them to any other full page in the book, if they are printed with metal types there can be no variation in any of theſe reſpects : whereas, if they were done in wood it would be as impoſſible for them to agree in any one inſtance, as it would be to engrave or write any two pages wherein there ſhould be no viſible variation in ſome one or more of the forementioned particulars. It was by theſe methods that I diſtinguiſh'd, in the *five* books in the Earl of *Pembroke*'s *Library*, what was done on wood, and what by ſeparate metal types.

MELCHIOR ADAMUS, and after him the learned *Malinkrot* and ſome others, tell us of ſeparate wooden types cut with a knife, which were us'd by the firſt Printers, before the diſcovery of caſting them into metal; but beſides that this ſeems inconſiſtent with the moſt authentick teſtimonies we have quoted hitherto concerning this invention: whoever conſiders the vaſt time and trouble it would require to cut ſuch a quantity of them as is neceſſary to print any moderate work, the great difficulty of making them ſtand exactly upright and even in line and body, how liable they would be to ſplit, break, warp, ſhrink and ſwell with continual wetting and the weight of the preſs, with many more ſuch like inconveniences and difficulties, will eaſily judge, not only of the abſurdity of this notion, but alſo of the impoſſibility of any of thoſe old books being printed by any ſuch types; ſince it is obvious to every eye, that no one ſingle work could have come perfect out of their hands for the reaſons abovemention'd.

BEFORE I diſmiſs this point, I muſt not omit acquainting the Reader with a miſtake into which *Chevillier* has been unwarily drawn, even when he took the ſureſt method of coming at the truth, concerning one of theſe books in queſtion, *viz.* the *Speculum Salutis*, he tells us, *pag.* 281 and 282 of his *Origin of Printing*, that having one of them in his own poſſeſſion, and having met with another in the library of the *Celeſtin* Monks at *Paris*, he had the curioſity to have them examined by a Printer, a Founder, and an Engraver, who judg'd them to be printed with ſeparate-metal-types; ſo that thoſe who have read his book, have thought it a ſufficient ground to alter their opinion of their being done on wooden blocks. But this miſtake of *Chevillier*'s proceeded from his not examining the whole book, becauſe as I ſhall ſhew anon, there were many leaves ſupply'd afterwards by ſeparate metal types, one of which he had the misfortune to light upon, otherwiſe they muſt have manifeſtly ſeen the difference

I come now to give the reader an account of the other *five* books, *viz.* *Ars Moriendi*, the *Hiſtory of the Apocalypſe*, the *Hiſtory of the Bible*, the *Speculum Salutis*, and the *Spiegel* or *Speculum* tranſlated into *Low Dutch*. That theſe however are not all that was done upon wooden planks, is plain, becauſe *Trithemius* tells us of the *Catholicon*, firſt printed upon wood,

Scaliger

Scaliger ſpeaks of a *Pſalter* of the ſame ſtamp, which his grand-mother had, and other antiquaries mention ſeveral others not worth inſerting here, all which are either periſh'd, or are as yet undiſcover'd: however I cannot omit the *Speculum*, and ſome others ſeen by *Saubert* in the *Nuremberg* library, of which he was keeper; and mention'd by him in the catalogue of that library, call'd in latin *Bibliotheca Norica*, which books were printed in *High Dutch*, and may juſtly be ſuppos'd ſome of *Fauſtus*'s firſt *Tentamina* or eſſays from *ann.* 1440 to 1450: but as that author has only given us the names, without any further account of them; I ſhall paſs them by, and return to the *five* abovementioned; which are no where to be met with together, but in that noble Collection of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Pembroke:* and as no one beſides my ſelf has deſcrib'd them all, I hope the reader will not be diſpleas'd, if I give him a more particular account of them, than any but a Printer could poſſibly have done: They are all *five* printed on a very ſmall *Folio.*

I. *ARS MORIENDI*; or, *SPECULUM MORIENTIUM.*

It is a moral treatiſe upon the ſubject of dying well, with wooden cuts ſuited to the taſte of the Romiſh church; a ſick man is figur'd lying in his bed with angels and devils attending him, the one to tempt, the other to ſtrengthen him; to which end the deſigner has made labels from their mouths, to expreſs the intention of each: the deſigns of this firſt book are ſomewhat better drawn than thoſe of the reſt; for in that age, as well as ours, there were good and bad painters or deſigners, but the preſs-work is the worſt of the *five:* this induces me to think this piece to be the oldeſt, and its wanting the ſeveral improvements which we find in the others, does not a little confirm me in my conjecture: for *firſt*, it is printed with common writing ink without any gum, which is plain from its ſpreading it ſelf, and ſoaking into the paper, ſo that in many places it is ſcarce legible; and the ink is grown withall ſo pale by length of time, that it doth but juſt ſhow it ſelf at the beſt: *ſecondly*, it ſeems to have received ſeveral degrees of improvement as the work went on, and is better printed, and with better ink, the nearer it draws to the end: the *third* circumſtance that proves its priority to the reſt, is, that it hath neither

neither the capitals A, B, C, &c. (which are now call'd Signatures) at the bottom of the firſt pages of each ſheet, nor any direction word at the end of each page; which is a guide to the book-binder how to place the ſheets, this improvement we find in the two next books.

II. *The HISTORY of the APOCALYPSE.*

THIS book, which I venture to give the ſecond rank to, hath the advantage of being printed with better ink than the former, which makes it much more legible; it appears to have ſome gum diſſolv'd with the ink, which was one of the firſt improvements that was made to the common ſort of ink; it has likewiſe the ſignatures at the top of each page of the ſheet: This piece contains the hiſtory of St. *John* the *Evangeliſt* in forty ſix pages, each having ſome figures ill cut, repreſenting ſome part of that ſaint's life; the cuts are interſpers'd with ſhort ſentences, arguments and explications, in Monkiſh latin proſe; likewiſe cut in wood after an indifferent manner; the paper has the mark of the *heifer's head and horns*, which is allowed to be the mark in the paper *Fauſt* uſed.

III. *The HISTORY of the BIBLE.*

THIS contains only hiſtories out of the Old and New Teſtament, promiſcuouſly blended together, with wooden cutts better perform'd, tho' worſe drawn, than any of the two foregoing; it has likewiſe the arguments and explanations of each cut, and the paper ſeems to be the ſame with that of the *Apocalypſe*; it has alſo the improvements of ink and ſignatures [1].

IV. *The SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS.*

IT is commonly called *Speculum Salutis*; or, the *Mirrour of our Salvation*; and is a comparative hiſtory of the old and new teſtament it is writ

[1] Theſe were in all probability the firſt SIGNATURES, the 4th and 5th here have them not, nor the books with *Fauſt*'s name. And tho' the Terence printed at *Milan* 1470 has them, yet *Spira* and *Jenſon* printed afterwards without; nor have they us'd them in *France* in 1468, yet in the ſame year they were us'd at *Oxford*.

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ten in Monkiſh latin verſe rhim'd. This is by far the moſt perfect of the two I have ſeen, *that* which *Dr. Mead* ſhew'd me wanted many leaves, but *this* only two: it conſiſts of fifty ſix pages, and each page has two columns of verſes, which are ſo well cut, that were it not for ſome differences in the magnitude and ſhape of the ſame letters, one might eaſily be induc'd to think them printed with metal types; and I believe this is the reaſon, that made ſome authors ſuppoſe them to be done with ſeparate wooden types. I have already taken notice of the improbability of that notion.

V. *De SPIEGHEL.*

THIS is only a tranſlation of the *Speculum Salutis* into *Flemiſh:* it was upon this book that Dr. *Junius* and the other *dutch* writers, who have followed him, lay ſo great a ſtreſs; and upon whoſe antiquity, preferable to all others, they ground their claim to the invention of printing in favour of *Coſter*. However it is very plain that the *Latin* one is prior to this, and that *this* is only a tranſlation of *that*, becauſe the wooden cuts are the ſame in both, the latin explanations at the bottom are left untranſlated, and the cuts are printed with the ſame pale gum'd writing ink as in the *Latin* one, rather brown than black; whereas the body of this work is compos'd with ſeparate metal types, and printed with an ink as remarkable for its blackneſs as any ſort ſince made uſe of: it has alſo in ſeveral places the ſame mark in the paper, *viz.* the *heiffer's head and horns*, acknowledg'd by Monſ. *Naudé* to be the mark in *Fauſt*'s paper. In the *Latin Speculum* a great many pages are ſupply'd with the ſame ſeparate metal types, preſs-work and ink as the body of this whole *Flemiſh* one; and has all the appearances ſufficient to convince any one, of its being done at the ſame time, and by the ſame hand; one of which *ſupply'd* pages of the latin *Speculum*, *Chevillier* happen'd to pitch upon, when he ſhew'd it to the Printer, Founder and Engraver before mention'd. There is one circumſtance worth noting, which is, that the *Speculum ſalutis*, tho' cut on wood, each page conſiſts of two diſtinct pieces, the head piece is the draught or repreſentation of the hiſtory, the lower piece is the hiſtory itſelf in two columns, and if I may venture to account for this motled

work

work, it muſt be by ſuppoſing, that after they had cut the deſign, they might print ſeveral proof ſheets, as is uſual now, to ſee if it needed any amendment; which proof ſheets of the draughts only, together with a compleat book of the latin *Speculum*, might afterwards fall into the hands of ſome *dutch Printer*, who got it tranſlated into *low dutch* and printed it with ſeparte metal types upon the ſame proof ſheets under the deſigns which were before printed at the head of the page; and this will evidently appear from the manifeſt difference of the ink, as before mention'd.

THERE remain ſtill two points to be examin'd with relation to the *Donatus*; 1. whether it be the firſt book printed with wooden planks; 2. whether it was done by *L. Coſter* at *Harlem*. To the firſt there is only the teſtimonies of *Ulric Zel* citizen of *Cologn*, who relates what was done almoſt fifty years ago, and of *Mar. Accurſius*, who wrote in *Italy* what he heard was done at, a ſtill, greater diſtance from him. To theſe, who could not poſſibly be acquainted with every circumſtance of this diſcovery, we may reaſonably oppoſe the authority of *Trithemius*; for he learn'd what he tells us, not from report and uncertain tradition, but from the mouth of *Peter Schoeffer*, who related nothing but what he was an eye-witneſs of, or rather particularly intereſted in. Now *Trithemius* aſcribes the invention of wooden blocks to *J. Fauſt*; and aſſerts that the *Catholicon* was the firſt book (of any conſequence) printed in that manner; and that his next ſtep was the more ingenious invention of ſeparate metal types.

LET the world judge whether his teſtimony be not far preferable to that of the two former. *Scriverius* indeed, and after him Mr. *Beughen*, affirm the *Donatus* to have been printed *anno* 1440; but give no reaſon for their fixing on that year rather than any other; and it is manifeſt from what they ſay before, that they only proceed upon a ſuppoſition, that this method being diſcovered about that time; this book (which is perhaps the leaſt conſiderable of thoſe which were printed then) might be one of the firſt eſſays of it. However let the *Catholicon*, the *Donatus* or any other, be the firſt book printed in *Europe* with wooden planks, yet there is no ground of boaſting it to be the firſt in the world; ſince the *Chineſe* practis'd that way of Printing at leaſt 300 years before either *Fauſt* or *Coſter* were born.

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THE next conſideration is, where and by whom it was printed. The *Dutch* attempt two ways of proving it was done by *Coſter* at *Harlem*: the firſt is that of *Junius*, who pretends that it was one of the firſt tryals of *Coſter*'s metal types; but this has been ſo fully confuted, that they have been oblig'd to recur to another ſhift; which is, that *Coſter* invented the engraven planks, and with theſe printed the *Donatus* and *Speculum Salutis*; and that from this *Fauſt* took the hint of inventing metal types, an improvement of the former method[1]: As the latter part of this aſſertion has receiv'd a ſufficient anſwer in the ſecond chapter and elſewhere, ſo I need not inſiſt long upon a confutation of the former part, *i. e.* the books themſelves; ſince they carry no evident characteriſtick, nor are affirm'd with certainty by any author to have been done in *Holland*. No doubt the *Latin Speculum* is the original, and the *Dutch* only a tranſlation; ſince as I obſerv'd before, the latin arguments under the figures are left untranſlated. The learned *Saubert* likewiſe tells us in his *Hiſtory of the* Norimbergh *library*, that he hath ſeen ſeveral books there printed in *high dutch* after this manner, one of which is the *Speculum*[2]. Who can therefore determine which is the moſt antient, or where they were printed? If the *Dutch* one could be done no where but in *Holland*, becauſe it is in *low dutch*; by parity of reaſon the *high dutch* muſt have been printed in *Germany*; and as to the *Latin*, it will remain ſtill undetermin'd, whether it was done in the one or the other, and nothing will be certain concerning it, except that it muſt have been printed before the tranſlations. From the whole of what has been ſaid, it is apparent, that all the proofs which the *Dutch* bring either from facts or authentick writers, confute, rather than ſupport, their pretenſions: and I hope by this time the reputation of *Fauſt* is ſufficiently clear'd from the two fold wrong done it by thoſe, who endeavour to deprive him of his due honour, and aſperſe him with the vileſt accuſations of treachery and theft: and that the rea-

[1] Alibi enim ars, alibi ornamenta artis inventa; illa inter *Hollandos*, hæc inter *Germaniæ Moguntinos*. ——— *Harlemum Typographiæ* velut matrem, *Moguntiam* autem nutricem fuiſſe & alumnam; ibi ſuperatum quicquid in novæ rei exordiis impeditum, hic additam majorem arti ſpeciem & facilitatem. *Boxhorn de Art. Typogr. invent.* p 38, 39.

[2] Quæ ligno inciſa ſunt, huc non refero, v. g. libellum fabularum & ſimilitudinum, qualis eſt *D. Hartliebii* libellus *Germanicus*, itemque *Speculum Morientium*, *Speculum Salutis*, & id genus alia, *Saubert. Hiſtor. Biblioth. Norimberg.* p. 116.

der not only eſteems him acquitted of both, but is ſatisfy'd that neither *Coſter* nor *Harlem* have the leaſt ſhare in this diſcovery.

BEFORE I conclude this chapter, I cannot omit a conjecture of the ingenious Mr. *Mattaire*, which will be a conſiderable confirmation of what has been ſaid before. He tells us [1], that he is inclin'd to think the books beforemention'd were printed at *Harlem*, rather than at *Mentz* or *Straſburgh*, becauſe tho' *Guttenbergh* remov'd at firſt to the latter, ſoon after the ſentence pronounc'd againſt him by the judges of *Mentz*; yet it appears from ſeveral authors even of our own nation, that he either ſuſpecting his ſafety there, and a farther proſecution from *Fauſt* for the money adjudg'd to him by the decree and deed mention'd in a former chapter, or upon ſome other reaſon, came afterwards to *Harlem:* in this city he is ſuppos'd by our author to have taught the art to *Coſter*, and practis'd it with him about the year 1459. If this be admitted, which has all the air of probability to recommend it, *Coſter* will be left entirely deſtitute of his former glory. The reader will find Mr. *Mattaire*'s proofs for what he advanceth concerning *Guttenbergh*'s printing at *Harlem*, in his book before quoted [2]; which I refer to, rather than to thoſe old and ſcarce authors, from whom he has extracted them. I ſhall cloſe this controverſy of *Harlem* with the words of *Malinkrot:* [3] „ 'Tis not the ſpacious

[1] De loco & opifice incertiora adhuc ſunt omnia. Si pro *Moguntia* pronuncietur, non multum hærendum erit de opificibus, tribus ſcilicet antea celebratis; aut tempore, quod *anno* 1457, (quo primum, juxta receptam hactenus a pleriſque opinionem, integræ Typographiæ opus per *Johannem Fuſt* & *Petrum Schoeffer* elaboratum prodiit) fuerit forte vetuſtius; opus enim minus perfectum oportet perfectiori præviſſe, ſin autem cui *Argentina* plus placeat, aut (quam cur duarum malim, poſtea aperiam) *Harlemum*; *Guttenbergius*, quem quidam *Argentinam* migraſſe, potior vero (de qua deinceps diſſeram, authoritas *Harlemi* conſediſſe affirmat, hæc primæ ſuæ artis molitus eſt rudimenta; non qui em ante annum 1455, quo accidiſſe fertur inter ipſum *Fauſtumque* diſſidium (quæ ipſi fuit migrandi cauſa) neque forſan multo poſt 1457 quo perfectior innotuerat imprimendi ratio. *Annal. Typ graph.* p. 17.

[2] *Ibid a* pag 26, *ad* 30.

Quæ ex *Lambetharo* MS. deſcripſit, de eorum veritati cur dubitemus non video: ex iis itaque pauca mecum colliget lector alibi forſan non ediſcenda.

1. *Johannes Guttenbergus*, quem, exorta inter ipſum & *Fauſtum* contentione, *Argentinam* migraſſe ſcribit *Henricus Salmuth*, *Harlemum* inde aliquando profectus eſt, ibique primus artem Typographicam a ſe inventam monſtravit, & ipſe anno 1459 exercuit: quod ſi admittatur, contra *Laurentium Coſterum*, cui inventionis palma a *Belgis* tribuitur, manifeſte faciet, *&c. ib.* p. 31.

[3] Non hercle *Harlemica* ſilvæ ſpatiis, non *Batavicis* deambulationibus, non *Hollandico* otio tam laborioſæ artis anxium & difficilem partum debemus; ſed *Moguntinis* potius ſudoribus *Rhenanæ* induſtriæ & difficilibus nixibus, *Germanæ* aſſiduitatis indefeſſæ operationi, continuæ multorum annorum inſtantiæ illum acceptum ferre tenemur. *Typograph. cap.* 8. *pag.* 69.

„ woods

„ woods of *Harlem*, nor the fine walks of *Holland*, nor the ſupineneſs of
„ its inhabitants that could produce an art ſo difficult and laborious; but
„ 'tis to the ſtrenuous endeavours of the city of *Mentz*, and the aſſidu-
„ ous and indefatigable induſtry of the *Rheniſh* nation for many years
„ together, that we are indebted for it. „

CHAP. VII.

The Pretenſions of Strasburgh *confuted.*

IN the two former chapters, the falſity of the charge againſt *John Fauſt* has been ſo fully demonſtrated, that one would have reaſonably expected the ill ſucceſs of this accuſation, and the many learned advocates that appear'd in his defence, might have been ſufficient to deter the moſt ſanguine of mortals from a ſecond attempt upon ſo great a man. Nevertheleſs the reader muſt have patience to hear him arraigned at another bar for the like crimes, committed about the ſame time, tho' upon another perſon, and at another place diſtant ſeveral hundred miles from the former.

FOUR years after the publication of *Boxhorn*'s *Diſſertatio de Typographiæ inventione & inventoribus*, printed at *Leyden* 1640; there ſtarted up another, who in a ſmall treatiſe intitled, *Brevis de loco, tempore & authore Typographiæ excurſus*, pretended to prove that *Fauſt* ſtole the art of Printing from *John Mentel* at *Strasburgh*. 'Tis true, this author was aſham'd to ſet his name to it; but neither that, nor the meanneſs of his performance hinder'd the diligent *Malinkrot*, who was then writing his treatiſe *de ortu & progreſſu artis Typographicæ* againſt *Junius* and his followers, from confuting it. Hereupon *James Mentel* doctor of phyſick at *Paris*, a man of learning, and great grand-ſon of *Mentel*, the firſt *Straſburg* Printer of that name, publiſh'd a book call'd *Paræneſis de vera Typographiæ origine* at *Paris anno* 1650; wherein he undertook to make good the charge, which the anonymous author had laid againſt *Fauſt*, and challeng'd the glory of the invention in favour of his anceſtor. Tho' no particular anſwer to this book has been publiſh'd, yet there is not one writer

upon this ſubject, that I know of, that has not taken occaſion to confute, or at leaſt to ſay ſomething to diſcountenance it. I ſhould therefore eſteem my ſelf, wanting to this art and its inventor, ſhould I omit giving a ſhort account of this controverſy, and expoſe the vanity of ſuch an attempt; eſpecially becauſe it may be thought, that Dr. *Mentel* would not have troubled the world with it ſo ſoon after the other, unleſs he had had ſomething more weighty to alledge in favour of *Strasburgh*, than the *Dutch* had for *Harlem*.

I hope to propoſe the arguments on both ſides ſo fairly, that the reader will eaſily judge of the pretenſions and merit of this new competitor; and with ſuch brevity, that he will not be tired with it, by referring ſtill to the quotations in the margin without interruption to the ſtory.

The firſt evidence alledg'd by Dr. *Mentel*, is an old *Strasburgh* chronicle, of equal authority with the *Harlem* tradition, to this purpoſe[1]: „ that *anno* 1440 *Nich. Schantlitt* being conſul, *&c.* the excellent and tru-
„ ly uſeful art of Printing was invented at *Strasburgh* by the incompara-
„ ble *John Mentel*, who dwelt in the *Fronhoff* market, and at the houſe
„ commonly called **Viergarten** (*brothel-houſe*;) which divine invention he
„ communicated to a ſervant of his of great ingenuity and dexterity, by
„ name *John Gensfleich*, a native of *Mentz*, that he might be aſſiſting to
„ him in the buſineſs. But this treacherous fellow had no ſooner learn'd
„ the myſtery, but he ſerv'd his maſter a baſe trick, by aſſociating him-
„ ſelf with his counrryman *J. Guttenberg*, a wealthy ſilver-ſmith, who
„ began to ſmell out ſomething of the art (having been employed by
„ *Mentel* to make ſome neceſſary tools;) and diſcovering to him the ſe-

[1] Anno milleſimo quadringenteſimo quadrageſimo als zum Vierrenmahl, *&c quæ Latine* ſic ſonant: cum e tribu Vietorum tertius in conſulem eſſet electus Dominus *Nicholaus Schantlitt*, & prætura urbana fungeretur *Walterus Spiegel*, &c. eximia illa & mire utilis *Typographia Strasburgi* inventa eſt, ab incomparabili viro *Johanne Mentelio* habitante in foro *Fronhoff*, in ædibus vero Viengarten, hoc eſt luſtri, vulgo nuncupatis: quod diviniſſimum opus non celavit unum ex famulis ſuis, ſibi dexteritate ingenii atque acumine notum, *Johannem Gensfleich* vocatum, & illum *Moguntiæ ſum*, ut abs illo in ea re juvaretur: Sed male feriatus is ſervus, ubi quadamtenus induſtriæ iſtius fuiſſet conſcius, nequiſſime cum hero ſe geſſit. Nam cum *Johanne Gutembergio*, populare ſuo, pinguis cenſus homine, ac vitæ ſorte aurifice, ſe ſocians; qui jam de arte quidpiam ſubodorabatur (*ut meritoria cujus opera fabricandis ad id inſtrumentis uſus antea fuiſſet Mentelius*) ſecreta quæ a patrono fuerat expiſcatus, detexit. Ac ſic utrique cum nova & illuſtria per ipſam nomina comparandi ſpes foret; nec tamen impune id *Argentorati*, ubi eſſet inventor poſſent conſequi, illac egredi apud ſe conſtituerunt, ac *Moguntiam* profecti ſunt. *Mentel.* p. 6, 7.

„ cret

„ cret, which he had been intruſted with by his maſter. Theſe two ho-
„ ping to make themſelves famous by this art, but being fearful of di-
„ vulging it at *Strasburgh* where the inventor liv'd, reſolv'd to remove
„ thence, and ſettle at *Mentz*. „

WITH reſpect to this chronicle and the writer of it, we only know what our author tells us in his tranſlation inſerted at the bottom of the page, for the chronicle is written in *high dutch*. As it wants therefore ſome better authority for its ſupport, Dr. *Mentel* brings, as a confirmation of it, the teſtimonies of the writers quoted in our third chapter, who make mention of *Guttenberg*'s carrying the art from *Strasburgh* to *Mentz*, where he perfected it by the aſſiſtance of *John Fauſt* alias *Gensfleich*; whoſe words are not therefore neceſſary to be repeated here. In the next place he alledges an inſcription, which with *Mentel*'s coat of arms was put at the beginning of *Otho Brunsfield*'s *Onomaſticon* printed at *Strasburgh* by *John Schott anno* 1543, importing [1], that theſe arms of *Schott*'s family had been given to *John Mentelin*, firſt inventor of the art of Printing, and to his poſterity by the Emperor *Frederic* III. *anno* 1466. After this he gives us a *latin* epigram written by *Erhard Windsberg* and inſcrib'd to the three famous *Germans*, who ſet up the firſt Printing-preſs at *Paris*. In the firſt verſe of this he has thought fit to change the word *Alemannia (Germany)* for theſe of *tu Argentina* (*thou Strasburgh*) as more proper for his purpoſe.

THE book, at the end of which are theſe verſes, is the *Epiſtles of* Crates *the Cynick*, printed by *Martin Crantz* and his two partners beforemention'd *anno* 1470, not at *Strasburgh*, as our author would fain inſinuate to his readers, but at *Paris*; where it is ſtill extant in the library of the *Sorbon*, and was ſeen among others by *Chevillier*, who has occaſionally confuted *Mentel*'s ſuppoſition, and expos'd his unfair quotation of the epigram, pag. 31. of his *Hiſtory of Printing*; as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place.

THIS is all that I can find in *Mentel's* book, which has the appearance of argument: the reſt conſiſts chiefly in digreſſions, and quotations in praiſe of the art, and of the *German* nation; which are entirely foreign

1 Inſigne *Schotorum* familiæ ab *Frederico Romanorum* III imperatore *Joanni Mentelin* primo Typographiæ inventori, ac ſuis conceſſum anno 1466. p. 104.

to this controverſy. In ſhort our author ſhews himſelf more deſirous of appearing zealous for his anceſtor's honour, than ſolicitous what credit his work will merit among the learned: I ſhall give an inſtance or two of this, and proceed to the confutation of his main arguments.

In page 31, he gives us a piece of a comedy written by the famous *Swediſh* poet *Nicodemus Friſchlin*; but is pleas'd to overlook the lines quoted by us before at p. 19, in which he affirms, *John Fauſt* citizen of *Mentz* to have been the inventor of the art; tho' they are at a very ſmall diſtance from the paſſage quoted by him; what is ſtill more remarkable is, that *Mentel* affirms that our *Swediſh* poet dedicated this dramatic piece to the ſenate of *Strasburgh*; which he would ſcarce have done, had he dreamt any thing of that city's claiming the glory of this invention againſt his Hero *John Fauſt*, or heard any thing of the charge of theft alledg'd againſt him by the *Strasburgers*. The other inſtance of his unfairneſs is no leſs conſiderable at *p.* 67; where having ſuppos'd that the *Rationale Durandi* was not printed 'till after the falling out of *Fauſt* and *Guttenbergh*, viz. *ann.* 1461, to evade the force of the real date 1459, he ſays with a very ſerious air, that he had credible information from men of great learning, both Printers and others, that it was wrong printed, and that the figure I, which is put before, ſhould have been after the X, that inſtead of MCCCCLIX, it ſhould have been MCCCCLXI: whereas Mr. *Mattaire* aſſures us [1], that the year is not printed with numeral letters, but in words at length, *one thouſand four hundred fifty nine*; I can hardly ſuppoſe Dr. *Mentel* could be miſtaken for want of an opportunity of conſulting the book itſelf, ſeeing it is to be ſo eaſily met with in ſeveral libraries of *Paris*, which ſtand always open to the learned and curious; and I don't find he has been wanting in ranſacking them to find out any thing to his purpoſe: tho' ſhould even this ſuppoſition about the date be allow'd, it would not therefore follow, that no books were printed before the year 1460 with *Fauſt*'s and *Schoeffer*'s names, excluſive of *Guttenbergh*'s, as Dr. *Mentel* attempts to perſuade his readers; for the *Pſalmorum codex* printed *ann.* 1457 mentions only the names of the two former; and the

[1] Vide quæſo *Mentelii* in opinione falſa obſtinati, ipſiuſque hominum ornatiſſimorum hallucinationem manifeſtam; annus enim illius libri exprimitur non numeralibus litteris, ſed diſertis verbis. *Milleſime quadringenteſimo quinquageſimo nono. Annal. Typograph. p.* 11. *annot. col* 1.

latter

latter was never printed in any book that could yet be produc'd. What is ſaid will ſuffice, I hope, to give an idea of this author's ſincerity, whoſe three principal authorities I ſhall now examine.

First, as to the *Strasburgh* chronicle, we may reaſonably be excus'd for not laying the ſame ſtreſs upon it, that our author doth; ſince the obſcurity of the writer, a ſuſpicion of his partiality for his country's honour, and a difficulty of believing a perſon in his own cauſe in oppoſition to a great number of more credible witneſſes, are obſtacles almoſt invincible. I am therefore inclin'd to think, that the bare oppoſing of the chronicle of *Cologne* and *Trithemius*, who aſſert that the art was firſt brought from *Mentz* to *Strasburgh*, will be a ſufficient confutation of it, tho' there were no other authorities for the one, nor arguments againſt the other. However we have an unexceptionable witneſs to produce againſt this chronicle, *viz.* the learned *Wimpheling*, who was not only an eminent citizen of *Strasburgh*, and almoſt contemporary with the diſcovery of the art, but is likewiſe quoted by Dr. *Mentel*, tho' his teſtimony be diametrically oppoſite to his purpoſe: the firſt part of the paſſage is ſet down at length in *pag.* 15, wherein he attributes the whole invention to *John Guttenbergh*; and tells us that he did not perfect it 'till he had been ſometime at *Mentz*; whilſt *John Mentel* undertaking the ſame buſineſs, printed a great many volumes very neat and correct, and grew exceeding rich in a ſhort time [1]. This is all that *Wimpheling* ſays of *Mentel*; nor has any author, except that of this *Strasburg* chronicle, mention'd or ſuppos'd him to be the inventor, but only one of the firſt that practis'd that art at *Strasburgh:* and if the reader will recollect what moſt of the writers, quoted in the *third* chapter of this book, have ſaid concerning *Guttenbergh*'s leaving *Mentz* and returning to *Strasburg*, where ſome of them affirm him to have taught *Mentel* the art; we ſhall not wonder that *Wimpheling* makes him the firſt inventor of it, ſeeing he practis'd it there ſometime before it was known that *Fauſt* had done the like at *Mentz*; and was conſequently the firſt Printer, that *Wimpheling* might know of: nor is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe that *Guttenbergh* could have been weak enough to ſay any thing

[1] Interea *Joannes Mentel* id opificii genus incœptans, multa volumina caſtigate & polite imprimendo factus eſt brevi opulentiſſimus. *Wimphel. loco citato.*

of

of what had paſs'd at *Mentz* between *Fauſt* and himſelf, it being ſo little to his credit.

MENTEL's next authority is taken from the coat of arms given to the family by the Emperor *Frederick* III; for which there is no other teſtimony but the firſt leaf of the *Onomaſticon*. However ſuppoſing it to be authentick, may we not with the greateſt reaſon oppoſe to it the patent or privilege granted by the Emperor *Maximilian* to *John Schoeffer*, in conſideration of his being the grand-ſon of *John Fauſt* the firſt inventor of the art of Printing? this privilege being of much later date than the other, may be reaſonably enough ſuppos'd a retractation of the former, which might have been ſurreptitiouſly obtain'd; eſpecially conſidering that *Fauſt* has the concurrent teſtimonies of writers and inconteſtable facts, but *Mentel* only brings an old chronicle and the moſt precarious grounds to ſupport his pretenſions. However the authentickneſs of this grant is not only much queſtion'd by the generality of writers, but has one material objection againſt it, which is, that the perſon to whom it was given, never made any mention or ſhew of it in all the books printed by him at *Strasburgh*, which, according to *Wimpheling*'s account, were very numerous. It ſeems to me ſurprizing, that if he had really obtain'd ſuch a noble teſtimony of his being the firſt inventor of Printing, and had been ſo treacherouſly robb'd both of the ſecret and the glory of it by a faithleſs ſervant, he had not made uſe of his Imperial Majeſty's authority (whoſe ſubject he was as well as *Fauſt*,) to confirm the honour of the invention upon himſelf, and the ſhame of the theft upon the other. But on the contrary, there is not one book to be met with, (tho' we may reaſonably think Dr. *Mentel* was not negligent in ſuch a ſearch,) that was printed by *John Mentel* before the year 1473, and even this was without any mention of the place where it was printed; as appears from the *Speculum morale* of *Vincentius* in folio, which is the oldeſt book known to bear his name: whereas *Fauſt* and his ſon-in-law put their names to their impreſſions almoſt ſixteen years before that time, as is plain from the *Pſalmorum Codex* printed *ann.* 1457. What is ſtill more wonderful, is, that *John Mentel* never plac'd this coat of arms in any of his books as we can find; for the oldeſt edition that hath it, is the *Geographical work of Ptolemy* printed by his nieces ſon MDXX, that is, 70 years after the invention

vention, 64 years after the grant, and 63 after *Fauſt* had begun to print in his own name, even by *Mentel*'s own confeſſion.

I come now to conſider the epigram, and Dr. *Mentel*'s wild inferences from it, (which he grounds upon a ſuppoſition, that the *epiſtles*, at the end of which it is printed, were done at *Strasburgh*,) from which he would conclude, that from this city, not only the three firſt Printers of *Paris*, to whom they are inſcrib'd, but alſo the moſt celebrated ones of *Europe* came. His words are theſe[1]: „ So truly may it be affirm'd, that this „ art at firſt flow'd from *Strasburgh*, as from its fountain-head, whence „ it diſpers'd it ſelf abroad: to that city therefore, and to the greateſt „ part of her firſt Printers mention'd by *Wimpheling*, is that epigram of „ *Erhard Windsbergh* directed, which is at the end of *Crates*'s *Epiſtles*; „ whereſoever theſe are printed, (for there is no place nam'd, tho' I „ ſhou'd rather think at *Strasburgh*,) they being done with ſome of the „ firſt types, whoſe rudeneſs plainly ſhews the infancy of the art. „ All this is ſaid without any foundation, and would ſcarce have deſerv'd to be inſerted here, but that it afforded me an opportunity of ſhewing the reverſe from the teſtimony of *Chevillier*, who examin'd and compar'd the the edition of *Crates*'s *Epiſtles* with the firſt impreſſions of theſe three Printers of *Paris*, which are given under the firſt liſt, and found them exactly alike: they are all done upon the ſame paper, with the ſame types, ink, *&c.* and demonſtrate the infancy of the art. He adds farther, that there is a greater probability that theſe three partners came from *Mentz* than from *Strasburgh*, tho' there is no record left of the particular place, but of *Germany* in general; becauſe he finds a great conformity between their characters and impreſſions, and thoſe of *Peter Schoeffer*; thus he tells us *p.* 51 of his *Hiſtory of Printing*, that the *Speculum* of *Zamora* printed by them at *Paris ann.* 1475, bears a very great likeneſs with St. *Jerom*'s *Epiſtles* printed at *Mentz* 1470; their *Rationale Durandi* of 1475 with *Scheoffer*'s *Speculum Harpianum* X *Præceptorum*;

[1] Ut ita conſentaneum ſit aſſevevare, ab *Argentorato* velut a capite hoc artificium primo fluxiſſe atque dimanaſſe. Hinc ad eam ſuoſque magnam partem *Typographos* primores illos quorum meminit *Wimphelingus Erhardi Windsberg* cujuſdam *epigramma*, quod habetur in calce *Epiſtolarum Cratetis*, ubi ubi-vis gentium (nam locus non ponitur, quanquam putem *Strasburgi*, at certe novellis, & artis infantiam plane redolentibus literarum characteribus impreſſarum, *&c.* p. 15.

their edition of *Utinus*'s *lenten Sermons* of 1477, with the *Scrutinium Scripturarum Pauli Burgenſis* printed at *Mentz* 1478; from which the author reaſonably concludes, that it is more likely they came from the city of *Mentz* than from that of *Strasburgh*. I ſhall now ſubjoin at the bottom of the page the epigram, both as it is printed in the genuine edition of the *Epiſtles*, and as *Mentel* has alter'd it [1]: I need not, I believe, point out to the reader the material difference between *Alemannia* and *tu Argentina*; the latter of which, were it authentick, would undoubtedly determine the diſpute on the ſide of *Strasburgh:* but as the former is exactly according to the edition preſerv'd in the *Sorbon* library, ever ſince it was printed; 'tis plain that author of the epigram, who was probably a country-man and intimate acquaintance of the three Printers, and corrected their editions, adding ſometimes a copy of verſes in their praiſe, did not deſign to particulariſe any city, but to give the honour of the art to the *German* nation in general. It is likewiſe probable enough, that they might not come all three from one and the ſame city, but perhaps each of them from a diſtinct one; in which caſe the poet muſt have been forc'd, either to name them all, or diſobliged one or two of them, or ſpoil a good epigram; and therefore rather choſe to compliment them under the name of *Germans* without regard to the place of their birth.

THO' I have now done with Dr. *Mentel*, yet before I cloſe this controverſy it will not be improper to obſerve that there are two cities more of *Germany*, which have laid claim to this invention, *viz. Ausburgh* and *Ruſſenburgh* in *Alſace*. The firſt of theſe owes its original to a paſſage miſunderſtood in the ſupplement to *Polydore Vergil De rerum inventoribus*, attributed by *Irenicus* to *Gilbert Cognatus*, and printed *ann.* 1604 in 16°, it runs thus: ,, The art of Printing is reported to have been diſco-
,, ver'd by the induſtry of *Peter Schoeffer* of *Ausburgh*, or invented by
,, ſome of his relations, and cultivated by him. ,, 'Tis plain here, that

[1] *Erhardi Windsbergh epigramma ad Germanos librarios egregios, Michaelem, Martinum & Uldaricum.*

Genuine Edition.

Plura licet ſummæ dederis, *Alemannia*, laudi,
At reor hoc majus te genuiſſe nihil;
Quod prope divinam ſumma ex induſtria fingis
Scribendi hanc artem, multiplicans ſtudia.
Felices igitur, *Michael Martineque* ſemper
Vivite, & *Ulrice*, ho queis opus imprimitur;
Erhardum veſtro & non dedignemini amore,
Cui fido ſemper pectore clauſi eritis.

MENTEL.

Plura licet ſumma dederis, tu Argentina, *laudi*,

the

the author doth not ſay that the art was invented at *Ausburgh*, but that the inventor was a native of the place; in which he was certainly miſtaken, ſeeing *Schoeffer*, who beſt knew the place of his own birth, declares himſelf in all his inſcriptions a native of *Gernſheim*, a ſmall town upon the *Rhine*, a little below *Worms*. Beſides we have no books extant, which are printed before the year 1471 at *Ausburgh*, when *John Schuſter* gave an edition of *Paul Oroſius*'s *Chronography* in *folio*. The other town, *viz. Ruſſenburgh* is likewiſe ſaid by the ſame *Irenicus* to have been eſteem'd by ſome writers, the inventreſs of the art of Printing; and that it receiv'd its name from the noiſe of the many Printing-preſſes at work in it: but this name ſeems to be more antient than that art; and no book printed there has been ever produc'd, nor any author of antiquity mention'd it; ſo that this was only a miſtake in *Cognatus*, if he was the writer of the book beforemention'd. I hope, that by this time enough has been ſaid, to ſatisfy the reader, that all which hath been urg'd in favour of *Harlem*, *Strasburgh*, or theſe two laſt cities, is unworthy to come into competition with theſe noble teſtimonies and facts we have alleg'd on the ſide of *Mentz*. I ſhall therefore with the greateſt pleaſure diſmiſs this rough and tedious path of controverſy, and reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

CHAP. VIII.

The Time of the Diſcovery of Printing.

THE difficulty of fixing the exact time of the diſcovery ariſes from theſe two reaſons: 1. Becauſe the inventors made many fruitleſs tryals, and a great number of maculatures, before they could bring the art to any tolerable degree of perfection: 2. Becauſe the vaſt expences of ſuch a diſcovery oblig'd them to keep it ſecret as long as poſſible, or at leaſt 'till they had reimburs'd themſelves in ſome meaſure, by finiſhing the *latin bible*, which tho' a great and expenſive work, was moſt likely to compenſate their pains and coſt when finiſh'd. This is the foundation of the diſagreement between writers upon the ſubject; which may how-

ever be eaſily reconcil'd by attending to the different epocha's, from which they date the diſcovery. Some of them, as *Wimpheling*, *Palmerus*, *Althamerus*, &c. date it from the infancy of the invention of wooden blocks, and aſſign the year 1440. Others, as the author of the chronicle of *Cologn*, *Trithemius*, *Aventine*, and many more, from the invention of fuſile types *ann.* 1450. *Andrew Thevet*, *Angel Rocha*, &c. fix the diſcovery of the former method in 1442; whilſt others place the time of the ſecond invention in 1453 or 1454, among whom are *Apianus* and *P. Langius*. Laſtly, *Philip Bergomenſis* and *Peter Ramus* aſſign the year 1458 for the perfection of it. To accommodate this diſcrepancy among all theſe authors, it will be ſufficient to ſay with relation to the firſt, that they take their date from the time in which the invention of wooden blocks was perfected, rather than from its infancy: with reſpect to the laſt, that they thought a ten years interval much too ſhort for the tranſition from the infancy of the former to the perfection of the latter method, and therefore allow'd a few years more than their predeceſſors had done. As for thoſe who fix the latter invention in 1458, they were ſuch as eſteem'd the firſt printed book to have been the *Catholicon* printed *ann.* 1460, or perhaps the ſecond impreſſion of the *bible ann.* 1462, or *Tully*'s *offices an.* 1466, as *Zwinger* and others ſuppos'd; and allow'd ſome years more for the invention and perfection of the art. Now 'tis plain that before the *Pſalmorum Codex*, as we have hinted, there is not any book known to have been printed with an *imprimatur* at the end; and it is equally certain, that the learned knew nothing of this laſt book 'till the year 1669, in which *Peter Lambeck* publiſh'd the ſecond part of his catalogue of the *imperial library*, where this noble monument is preſerv'd; which is the reaſon that it is omitted in all the liſts of the firſt printed books. 'Tis not ſtrange therefore that theſe writers, for want of dates and facts, ſhould be oblig'd to gueſs, as well as they could, at the time of the diſcovery. However we find that the chronicler of *Cologn*, *Serrarius*, *Sebaſt. Munſter*, and others after them, well enough reconcile this diverſity of opinions, by aſſigning the year 1440 for the former invention, and 1450 for the latter. To theſe if we add the authority of *Trithemius*, who certainly had the beſt information in this matter, from *Peter Schoeffer* a principal perſon in the invention, it will be evident, that about the year 1440 they began to ap-

ply

ply themſelves to cutting or engraving upon wooden blocks, after the *Chineſe* manner, and printed ſome books with them; but that after the year 1450 they found out a more excellent way, for theſe are *Trithemius*'s words in the famous paſſage quoted in *chap.* 3[1], *viz.* of caſting ſeparate metal types: this method they might have been deviſing and trying before that time, *i. e.* during ſome part of the firſt ten years; tho' they continued ſtill printing after the old way, 'till they had quite perfected the new one; either to bring in a continual ſupply of money neceſſary, or perhaps to keep the world from prying into the new diſcovery wherein they were engag'd.

I have ſaid nothing hitherto of the *dutch* writers, who to make the time of this invention agree with *Junius*'s ſtory of *Fauſt*'s pretended theft, have put it back, ſome above ten, others twenty years: how little credit they merit in this particular is already ſhewn; and the reader will be ſtill more convinc'd of it, when he ſees what ſhifts they are reduc'd to, for want of authorities to oppoſe to the vaſt number of writers quoted on *Fauſt*'s ſide, not one of whom ever thought of fixing this remarkable epocha beyond the year 1440.

THEIR firſt authority is the inſcription ſet over *Laurence Coſter*'s door by one of the citizens of *Harlem*, which is mention'd by all the *dutch* writers, and ſays that he found out this art *ann.* 1430: but this is of too recent a date to be of any weight.

SCRIVERIUS in his *apology againſt Naudé* makes the diſcovery two years older, and gives us a *Chronographic* verſe[2], whoſe numerical letters make up the date of MCCCCXXVIII, *Boxhorn* carries it ſtill farther back, *viz.* to the year 1420.

BUT as the two former dates were affirm'd without any foundation, this author has endeavour'd to confirm his own with ſomething, that might bear the appearance of authority; and to reconcile it with the other two, by affirming that *Coſter* began to lay the foundation of this art *ann.* 1420, tho' he did not perfect it 'till ten years after. The author, upon whoſe teſtimony he would have us believe it, is one *Joſeph Karro*, a *Jewiſh*

[1] Poſt hæc inventis ſucceſſerunt ſubtiliora, inveneruntq e modum fundendi formas omnium Latini alphabeti literarum, &c.

[2] hIC fago eXſCVLptas LaVrentI CVspIde forMas.
Scriver. Apolog. pro patr. contra Naudæum.

Rabbi

Rabbi, who in a book intitled *Shulkan Aruch* or *Menſa inſtructa*, extracted by him out of another Jewiſh book call'd *Arbagh Thurim*, i. e. *quatuor ordines*, tells us of an old chronicle printed at *Venice A. M.* 5188, which anſwers to our year MCCCCXXVIII. This book of *Rabbi Joſeph* he owns that he could never meet with; yet he infers from what is ſaid there, that there could be no printing at *Venice* at that time, unleſs *Harlem* had it ſome years before. I ſhall content my ſelf with giving *Boxhorn*'s words in the margin [1]; eſpecially ſince neither his *Rabbi* nor himſelf have gain'd any credit in this particular; as it would indeed be wonderful, if a *Jew* ſhould be believ'd before the concurrent teſtimonies of all the learned men in *Europe*. If he wrote what *Boxhorn* quotes out of him, he either was prodigiouſly miſtaken, or affirm'd it (as is too common with his nation) contrary to his knowledge: tho' if we ſhould deny that he ever wrote thus, I can't ſee with what reaſon *Boxhorn* could reſent it; ſince he neither ſaw the book himſelf, nor gives the author's name from whom he took it. However leaving him and the reſt of the *Dutch* writers to ſearch for more authentick proofs than what they have hitherto alleg'd, let us return to our own, which if we dare rely upon, as we have the greateſt reaſon to do, it will be plain, that this art was firſt attempted about the year 1440, and about ten years after happily perfected by *John Fauſt* and *Peter Schoeffer* in the city of *Mentz*; that tho' the former imperfect method was known in *China* ſome hundred years before we had it, yet this latter, the only one which deſerves the name of printing, was neither known nor practis'd 'till thoſe two perſons had communicated it to ſome of their ſervants, by whom it was divulg'd and diſpers'd over *Europe* and even beyond it. This will appear more evident in the next and ſubſequent chapters.

[1] Circa annum 1420 prima nobiliſſimæ artis Typographicæ fundamenta a *Laurentio Coſtero Harlemi* poni cœpta. Quod in annum hujus ſæculi vigeſimum, non triceſimum, aut quadrageſimum, ut fit vulgo, hanc artem periclitatam velim, ſuadet *Rabbi Joſephus*, qui in chronico ſuo exemplar omnium vetuſtiſſimum *Venetiis* excuſum refert anno Judaico 5188, Chriſti anno MCCCCXXVIII. Joſephum iſtum diu quæſitum videre non licuit: Chronicon haud dubie illud eſt quod *Menſa inſtructa* inſcribitur; liber eſt ex *Arba Turim* excerptus per *Rabbi Joſeph Carro*, & in formam theſium & concluſionum redactus; adjectæ ſunt novellæ gloſſæ & obſervationes de jure, ritibus & conſuetudine horum temporum per *Moſem Iſerles*: tertium impreſſus *Cracoviæ* anno Chriſti 1594, indicante in *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* rerum & ſcriptorum orientalium peritiſſimo *Johanne Buxtorfio*. Locum hunc certe velim accuratius aſpiciant, qui habent.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the firſt books printed by Fauſt *and* Schoeffer.

THERE has been frequent occaſion of mentioning the *Catholicon*, as the firſt tryal of the art of Printing, according to *Trithemius*'s teſtimony; but as it is our deſign to ſpeak of thoſe only, which are done with ſeparate metal types, and bear ſome certain date or mark of the Printer; I ſhall ſuſpend the account of it, 'till I come to treat of its ſecond impreſſion by the ſame *Fauſt* and *Schoeffer ann.* 1460.

'TIS certain that if only that book, which bears the oldeſt date, is to be eſteem'd the firſt printed; the *book of pſalms* ſo often mention'd will bid the faireſt for the firſt rank. Nevertheleſs I can ſee no reaſon to depart ſo far from the teſtimonies of *Trithemius* and the *Chronicle* of *Cologn*, as not to allow the preference to the *Latin Bible*, which, as they tell us, was the firſt book, to which the pious authors of this art thought fit to conſecrate their labours. In this opinion they have been follow'd by many learned and judicious writers both antient and modern; particularly *Malincrot*, *Chevillier*, *de la Caille*, *Paul Pater* and *Watſon*. I ſhall therefore ſelect the ſtrongeſt of their reaſons, add a few remarks of my own upon them, and leave the deciſion to the reader.

FIRST with reſpect to *Trithemius*'s teſtimony; which, I think, is unexceptionable, ſeeing he affirms nothing but what he had from *Peter Schoeffer*'s mouth: He plainly enough intimates, that the *Bible* was their firſt work, when he ſays that the art was found out by degrees: that after they had finiſh'd the diſcovery in ſpeculation, and came to put it in practice, they were involv'd in many difficulties: that[1] *ſoon after or from the beginning of this invention, when they went about printing the Bible*, before they had finiſh'd the third quaternion (or quire of four ſheets,) the charges amounted already to four thouſand *florins*, a prodigious ſum in thoſe days. If we duly conſider theſe words, we cannot but conclude the *Bi-*

[1] A primo inventionis ſuæ, &c. impreſſuri namque Bibliam. *Trithem. loco ſupra citato.*

ble

ble to have been the firſt book they engaged in. Our author indeed mentions not the year in which it was printed; but this might proceed from forgetfulneſs or want of information. However ſince ſuch a work could not be finiſh'd in a ſhort time, when the art was in its infancy, the hands but few and unacquainted with the ſeveral branches of compoſition, impoſition, correction, diſtribution, *&c.* we may ſuppoſe the invention to have been perfected in ſpeculation about the year 1450, and yet to have required ſome time before it could be put in practice, by reaſon of the difficulties ariſing in it; ſo that it will be reaſonable to allow a year or two more, before the impreſſion of the *bible* could be compleated. This may in all probability be the reaſon why *Trithemius*, who is always very exact in his *chronicles*, and mentions the year of any fact, when he is ſure of it, rather chooſes to make uſe of a more general expreſſion in this caſe, *viz. his temporibus* about this time, when he ſpeaks of the year 1450: if we recollect that he expreſſes himſelf in the ſame words in his firſt *Chronicle*, we ſhall be oblig'd either to allow a larger ſcope to them; or elſe ſuppoſe that the *Catholicon*, which was done in wood, and the *Bible* printed with metal types, were finiſh'd at the ſame time, which would be abſurd.

THE *Manuſcript Cologn Chronicle* tells us, that it was printed in the *Jubile* year 1450, in a large character, ſuch as is us'd in the impreſſions of *Miſſals* or *Maſs books*, which anſwers to our *Double Pica*. This *Chronicle* was written in *high dutch ann.* 1499; the author of which acquaints us, that he had the particulars of this invention from *Ulric Zel*, an old bookſeller then living at *Cologn*. As the original is not ſo well underſtood here, I ſhall ſubjoin at the bottom of the page, the whole paſſage in latin, as I find it tranſlated by *Malinkrot*[1]: the words are to this purpoſe, „ that the art of Printing was found out at *Mentz* — *ann.* 1440: that „ from that time to 1450 they were employ'd in perfecting it: that they

[1] Ars primum inventa in *Germania* urbe *Moguntina* ad *Rhenum* circa annum 1440; & ab eo donec ſcriberetur 1450, inventioni ejus eorumque quæ ad illam pertinent, opera impenſa fuit; eoque anno, qui *Jubilæus* fuit, cœptum fuit primum libros imprimere; primuſque qui excuderetur liber *Biblia* fuere *Latina*, impreſſaque ea ſunt ſcriptura grandiori, quali hodie *Miſſalia* imprimi ſolent. — initium & progreſſum memorati artificii ex honorabilis magiſtri *Ulric Zel Hanovienſis* narrantis ore cognovi, qui etiam nunc hoc anno 1499 *Coloniæ* Typographum agit. *V.d. Malinkrot de arte Typog.* p. 37.

„ were

„ began to print books in the *Jubile* year: and that the firſt that was „ printed was the *Latin Bible*, in a large character, *&c.* „ Here *Ulric Zel*'s words are to be taken in a lax ſenſe; for he is far from ſaying that any thing in this kind, much leſs the *bible*, was finiſh'd in the year 1450; but only that they began then to ſet about printing it: how long it was before they compleated it, or what date it bore, is what he neither doth, nor perhaps could ſo well inform us of. However, tho' we cannot be certain either from him, or *Trithemius*, when this noble work was perfected; yet it is manifeſt from their teſtimony, that, except ſome maculatures and ſmall tryals, the *Bible* was the firſt conſiderable piece printed by *Fauſt*.

I am not ignorant that Mr. *Mattaire* in his *Annals* has declar'd himſelf of the contrary opinion; but as he has not confuted any of the above-mention'd teſtimonies, tho' he muſt have read them in the authors before quoted, nor given any reaſon for his departing from them; I have given preference to the judgment of ſo many learned writers confirm'd by two ſuch conſiderable teſtimonies, to his ſingle opinion. I apprehend but two tolerable objections againſt this; the *firſt* is, that not one of theſe *bibles* is known to be extant: The *ſecond* is, that *Fauſt* cannot probably be ſuppos'd to have begun with ſo large and expenſive a volume, when a ſmaller would have been more proper for an eſſay, and brought him a more ſpeedy gain. To the *firſt* I anſwer, 1. That this *bible* being ſo full of abbreviations, *&c.* in imitation of the old way of writing, and difficult to be read, might undergo the ſame fate with many other books both MS. and others, to be thrown by and deſtroy'd, when the fairer and more legible impreſſions came in vogue: 2. The learned *Saubert* in his *Oration de Bibliotheca Reipublicæ Noribergenſis* tells us, that he had ſeen no leſs than eight copies of them in the *Norican* library, without date, colophon, or any other mark of their being printed by *Fauſt*. As I have not been able to procure *Saubert*'s book, I muſt content my ſelf with giving the reader the paſſage out of *Paul Pater*, in which this is mention'd: it is as follows, [1] „ The *Latin Bible*, commonly ſuppos'd to

[1] *Biblia Latina*, quorum tranſlatio *Divo Hieronymo* vulgo tribuitur, circa 1450 & ſequentem *Moguntiæ* in membrana impreſſa, quorum *Fauſtus* exemplar nummis uncialibus ſeu thaleris ſeptingentis quinquaginta *Pariſius* venum dederat, ut ſupra ex *Abbate Spanhemenſi* narravi-

„ have been tranſlated by St. *Jerom*, printed at *Mentz* upon vellum about „ 1450 or the following year, a copy of which *Fauſtus* ſold at *Paris* for „ 750 crowns, as we related out of *Trithemius*, is juſtly reckon'd among „ the firſt beginnings of this art by *Corn. Beughen* (in his *Incunab. Ty-* „ *pograph. Amſterd. ann.* 1688.) *Henry Salmuth* likewiſe mentions ano- „ ther Bible publiſh'd *ann.* 1459, at the end of which are theſe words; „ *This preſent Rationale*, &c. *was finiſh'd at* Mentz *by* John Fauſt, *&c.* „ but *Salmuth* is doubtleſs miſtaken in taking this book for the Bible, of „ which it was only a ſhort explanation. A copy of this *Bern. Malin-* „ *krot* tells us that he had by him. I would not however be too po- „ ſitive that there was not a *Latin Bible* printed in the ſame year, ſee- „ ing *John Saubert* owns that he had ſeen eight copies of it in the *Nori-* „ *can* library, without *Fauſtus*'s colophon, undoubtedly for the reaſon „ beforemention'd, (*viz.* in order to ſell 'em for Manuſcripts.) „ From this paſſage it appears, that there are eight bibles without *Fauſt*'s mark preſerv'd in that library, and ſeen by *Saubert*; tho' both he and *P. Pater* took them for the ſecond impreſſion, in which they are certainly miſtaken: 1. Becauſe this was printed *ann.* 1462, and not *ann.* 1459: 2. Becauſe it is ſo far from having been printed without a *colophon*, that it has one of the fulleſt and plaineſt that *Fauſt* ever us'd at the end of any of his books: the reader will ſee it, when we come to the edition itſelf. But 3. 'tis not impoſſible but that there may be ſtill more of theſe copies in ſome other libraries, as yet undiſcover'd. The only intelligence which we had concerning theſe eight, is owing to *Saubert*; neither would theſe gentlemen have believ'd that there had been a *Pſalmorum Codex* printed at *Mentz ann.* 1457, tho' aſſur'd of it by *Trithemius* and *Zel*, had not *Peter Lambeck* the Emperor's library-keeper 28 years ago told us, that he

mus, inter primordia merito numerari *Cornelius Beughen* memorat (*Incunab. Typograph. Amſterd. ann.* 1688 *editis*) ſimiliter *Henricus Salmuth* alium Bibliorum codicem ibidem lucem vidiſſe denarrat, cui hæc in fine verba erant appoſita: *Præſens rationalis Divinorum codex conſummatus eſt per* Johannem Fauſt *civem* Mogunt. *&* Petrum Gernſheim. *&c. ann.* 1459, *&c.* Sed errare hac parte *Salmuthum*, quod rationale illud ſacrum ſcripturam eſſe putet, cum tantum breve aliquod *Guillelmi Duranti* ſcriptum ſit, quod ſe quoque poſſidere *Bern. a Malinkrot* refert. Ne ue tamen prorſus negaverim *Biblia Latina* hoc ipſo anno vulgata typis denuo fuiſſe, quandoquidem *Joh. Saubertus* fatetur ſe in bibliotheca *Norica* octo exemplaria vidiſſe, ac ſubſcriptionis *Fuſtinianæ* notis caruiſſe haud dubie ob cauſam paulo ante a nobis adductam. *P Pater de German. Mirac. Lipſiæ ann.* 1710. pag. 75.

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met with it in that famous library. I have been likewiſe aſſur'd from the mouth of a gentleman of credit, that a friend of his had ſeen one abroad with the date of 1457, and farther that 'twas his opinion 'twould be brought to *England.* How many authors have had a notion that *Tully*'s *Offices* was the firſt printed book? yet time has produc'd no leſs than four printed before it, excluſive of the *bible* now in queſtion; and may yet diſcover more concerning this.

I come now to the *ſecond* objection ſo much inſiſted upon by ſome; *viz.* that 'tis improbable *Fauſt* would begin his firſt eſſays with a volume ſo large and expenſive, when a ſmaller would have anſwer'd his purpoſe much better, and brought an immediate gain. My reply is, 1. That the great expence at firſt conſiſted in purchaſing ſuch a quantity of materials as the buſineſs requir'd, and not in printing of the firſt book, which was inconſiderable compar'd with that; conſequently a ſmaller volume would have been too ſlender a reimburſement for ſuch great ſums expended: Beſides we have ſhewn that they took up money of *Guttenbergh* for buying of parchment, *&c.* and were not ſo ſtraitned as before. 2. As *Fauſt* deſign'd to ſell as many of his firſt printed books as he could for manuſcripts, in order to make up the coſt which he had been at; 'tis obvious that he muſt pitch upon ſome conſiderable and valuable book, before his art was diſcover'd, and where could he fix upon one more adapted to his purpoſe than this? I will not inſiſt upon the piety of the perſons ſo conſpicuous in all their inſcriptions, (tho' our age may call it ſuperſtition,) which might have a great ſhare in determining their choice. I ſhall only add, that as it was by no means adviſeable for him to ſell any of his firſt eſſays, leſt they ſhould betray his invention; ſo it was moſt prudent to make them upon the firſt leaves of the Bible, which if they ſucceeded, would in time make him ample amends; and if they did not, the loſs was no greater than if they had been try'd upon a *Donatus* or a *Primer.* Beſides none of our authors have affirm'd that he began to print the *bible* before he had perfected the art both in theory and practice; and made a ſufficient number of maculatures and other tryals, which it was the moſt prudent way to burn as ſoon as printed off. I ſhall leave this diſcourſe of the firſt *bible* to the reader's choice, either to cloſe in with, or diſſent from us in allowing it the firſt rank; and proceed now to the

remainder of our propos'd liſt. It will be neceſſary however to acquaint him, altho' we have given the preference to that ſacred book upon the teſtimonies of ſo many antient and modern writers, tho' it bears no date, yet in the following liſt I am about to give him of theſe firſt impreſſions of *Fauſt*, we chiefly inquire after ſuch as carry either date or ſome other certain mark of the year in which they were printed: for as to thoſe that do not, I ſhall ſpeak of them afterwards, and ſhew that thoſe authors who thought to have found out their date, have prov'd to have been in an error; which will be a ſufficient reaſon for us not to depend upon any others of the like nature.

NEXT to the *Bible* we find *five* ſeveral impreſſions, which have certainly been made between the years 1457 and 1466. The firſt of theſe, which as we hinted, is omitted in all the liſts of the firſt books that have been printed before *Lambeck*'s catalogue of the *Vienna* library, is the *Pſalmorum Codex* printed at *Mentz* upon Vellum *anno* 1457; concerning this, what has been ſaid already will ſuffice, the colophon of it is in the *fourth* chapter, p. 29.

THE *ſecond* is the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, written by *William Durand*, printed at *Mentz* upon Vellum two Years after the *Pſalter*, viz. *anno* 1459 by *John Fauſt* and *Peter de Gernſheim* or *Schoeffer*; *Malinkrot*, who knew nothing of the *Pſalter*, reckons it the firſt printed Book next to the *Bible*; and tells us that he purchas'd one of them, which had formerly belong'd to a Monaſtery of *Franciſcan* Monks, deſtroy'd by the civil Wars, the inſcription of which is very near the ſame with that of the *Pſalter*. This *Rationale* is likewiſe in the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Library, where I ſaw it; it is beautifully printed in Folio, upon Vellum, and is a ſingular Beauty as to Preſs-work.

THE Suppoſition of *Malinkrot* and others that this was the firſt printed Book, was the reaſon that *Father L'Abbé* a learned *Jeſuit* began his Liſt of printed Books from the Years of its date, *viz.* 1459 to 1500. and the author of the Supplement to *Bellarmin*'s *Eccleſiaſtical* Writers makes this remark upon it, That *Anno* 1459, *John Fauſtus* having diſcovered the art of Printing, firſt printed the Book of *Guill. Durand de Officiis Eccleſiaſticis* in the city of *Mentz*. Theſe authors were certainly in

in the right, ſeeing no book was then known of an older date: but ſince the ſecond part of *Trithemius*'s *Chronicle*, and the ſecond volume of the *Imperial-library* have been publiſh'd, we muſt look ſome years back for the firſt impreſſion, and give that rank to a more noble work.

THE *Third* is the *Catholicon*, a *Latin* vocabulary, printed at *Mentz anno* 1460. the ſecond time; for the firſt impreſſion was done upon wood. This Book is likewiſe in the Earl of *Pembroke*'s library, where I ſaw it, it is in a large folio, and beautifully printed. We have given the inſcription of it in the fourth *chap*. p. 30, in which tho' the printer's name is not expreſs'd, yet it was done by *Fauſt* and *Schoeffer*, both from the ſimilitude of its character, paper, *&c.* with that of their other works, and becauſe there were at that time no other printers either at *Mentz* or any where elſe. This *Catholicon* is a kind of *Grammar*, compil'd by *John* of *Genoa* a *Dominican Fryar anno* 1286. It is divided into four parts, the laſt of which contains a dictionary of *Latin* words digeſted alphabetically. There have been ſeveral editions of it in *folio*, as *Chevillier* tells us, who ſaw two of them; one, very old and without date; the other printed at *Paris anno* 1506. by *Jodocus Badius*. Another impreſſion of it is done at *Lyons* by *Antony Du Ry anno* 1520, and augmented by *Peter Gille*. *Furetiere* therefore was led into a palpable error, when he affirm'd after *Dr. Mentel* and *Father Jacob a Carmelite*, that the firſt printed books known in *Europe* were *Durandus de Ritibus Eccleſiæ* printed *anno* 1461, a bible printed *anno* 1462, *St. Auſtin de Civitate Dei*, and *Tully*'s *Offices*; ſeeing here are no leſs than four printed books before the oldeſt of them; beſides this book *de Ritibus Eccleſiæ* was not written by *William Durand*, but by *John Stephen Durant*, who was firſt preſident of the parliament of *Tholouſe*, and is therefore a different book from the *Durand*'s *Rationale* we are now ſpeaking of, and of a much later date.

THE *fourth* is the ſecond edition of the *Latin Bible* printed *anno* 1462. in *folio* with the following inſcription at the end [1]. "This pre-

[1] Preſens hoc opus finitum ac completum & ad euſebiam Dei induſtria in civitate *Moguntinâ* per *Johannem Fuſt* civem & *Petrum Schoeffer de Gernſheim* clericum Diœceſis ejuſdem eſt conſummatum anno incarnationis Dominicæ MCCCCLXI in vigiliâ Aſſumptionis glorioſæ virginis *Mariæ*.

"ſent

„ ſent work was finiſh'd and perfected for the ſervice of God in the city „ of *Mentz* by *John Fuſt* citizen, and *Peter Schoeffer de Gernſheim* clerk „ of the ſame dioceſs, it was compleated in the year of our Lord's in- „ carnation MCCCCLXII on the eve of the aſſumption of the glorious „ virgin *Mary*." I have ſeen one in the library of *Dr. Mead*, and another at the late Mr. *Wooodman*'s bookſeller, in Vellum, and *Chevillier* ſaw two more at *Paris* in two volumes. Of this bible *Walchius* [1] relates a ſtory, which ought to be mention'd here, as far as reſpects the common opinion. *Fauſt* went to *Paris* with ſome copies of it finely illuminated, where he ſold one of them for 750 crowns, and another for 500; till at length he reduc'd his price to 50 and 40 crowns. The great quantity which he ſold, and the exact likeneſs of every copy, made it ſuſpicious that they were done by a more eaſy and expeditious way than that of writing; whereupon the buyers thinking themſelves impos'd upon, began a proſecution which oblig'd him to fly the country, and return to *Mentz*. Thus far *Walchius*, who ſays nothing of *Fauſt*'s being accus'd of magick, as ſome others affirm. What relates to the perſon of *Fauſt* will be beſt conſider'd in the next chapter. As to the *bible* itſelf, 'tis my opinion, that the reaſon why the generality of authors have thought this ſecond edition to have been that which he ſold for MS. is, that they ſcarce knew of any other book printed before it [2]: but for my own part I cannot ſuppoſe that *Fauſt* would offer a book to ſale for a written one, which had ſuch an inſcription, as muſt infallibly diſcover the cheat. 'Tis urg'd, that he might print a certain number of them without this, and after the diſcovery, reprint the laſt ſheet with this colophon at the

[1] *Walchius decas fabularum generis humani printed at Strasburgh* 1609 *in* 4*to. pag.* 181

[2] *Mr. Le Gallois* in his treatiſe of the fineſt libraries pag. 160. tells us that there was nothing printed before this bible of 1462, which *Fauſt* brought to *Paris*. [*quoiqui, en ſoit il eſt certain qu' on ne voit rien d'imprimé avant cette Bible que* Fauſt *apporta luy meme a Paris*] *Father de St. Raomuld* affirms likewiſe in his *Theſaur Chronolog.* pag. 324. that we have nothing printed before the year 1462: and the great *Naude*, who in his addition to the hiſtory of *Lewis* XI. ſays that he had ſeen about 15000 old books in 20 or 30 of the moſt celebrated libraries in and about the city of *Paris*, and hath writ a treatiſe *ex profeſſo* upon this ſubject, in the afore-mention'd book, chap 7. pag. 268. expreſſes himſelf thus; " but we have no book printed before 1462; and pag. 89. he ſays that we muſt needs ſuppoſe them (the firſt printers) to have made an infinite number of proofs and maculatures, before they could juſtify, and get all their implements fitted together; after which they began at length to compoſe, not *Tully's Offices*, &c. but the great bible in *folio*, which was finiſh'd anno 1462, Vide *Chevillier* pag. 17.

end:

end: but this is improbable upon two accounts; firſt, he had already printed three books with inſcriptions, *viz.* the *Pſalter*, the *Rationale*, and the *Catholicon*; all which import particularly *that they were not done with pen and ink or any writing tool, but by a fine new invented art of caſting Letters, and printing with them.* Now ſince ſome of theſe muſt of neceſſity have been known in *France* long before this year; it was impoſſible to have deceiv'd them by any but the firſt impreſſion, unleſs we did ſuppoſe that he kept the three former unfold and unſeen; which would be moſt abſurd to imagine. But ſecondly 'tis plain that his deſign in ſelling them for MSS. was to reimburſe himſelf for the vaſt charges which he had been at in deviſing this invention, preparing all the neceſſary materials, making eſſays, *&c.* Such expences muſt have reduc'd him above twelve years before this to the neceſſity of a recruit, ſeeing he had perfected the new invention, and began to print with it on or ſoon after the year 1450. as has been fully prov'd; nor can we in any probability ſuppoſe that he ſhould work on for twelve whole years ſucceſſively and print three editions, two of which were very large, without vending them; eſpecially ſince he is reported by moſt authors to have enrich'd himſelf exceedingly by this time, and conſequently wanted no ſuch ſtratagem? If I could have obtain'd with all my endeavours any certain information of the year in which he went to *Paris*, it would have determined the diſpute. However, if I may be allow'd a conjecture, ſince we find by the unanimous conſent of writers that the art was perfected in the year 1450, and no books printed in his name till *anno* 1457 as yet known: *Fauſt* might moſt probably ſpend theſe ſeven years in Printing, illuminating and ſelling his firſt *Bible*; after which, his new art being diſcover'd, he thought it in vain to keep it ſecret longer; and therefore in his next book gave the world an account of his method, as we find in the *Pſalmorum Codex* and thoſe that follow'd it. What confirms my conjecture is, that *Guttenburgh*, who was proſecuted by *Fauſt* for the moiety of the money expended, and gave a deed bearing date 1455 for the payment, purſuant to the judge's determination, inſtead of complying with it, eſcap'd to *Strasburgh*, and left his partner in the lurch, this we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, reduc'd *Fauſt* to ſuch ſtreights, as oblig'd him to go to *Paris* with what books he had, in order to ſell them to the beſt advantage.

vantage. Theſe reaſons induce me to think that it was the *firſt*, and not the *ſecond bible*, which *Fauſt* ſold at ſuch extraordinary rates: The reader is at his liberty to judge as he pleaſes in this matter.

THE *fifth* is the *Tully's Offices* printed at *Mentz ann.* 1465; tho' ſome editions have a later date by one, and others by two years, all of which are printed at *Mentz*, with the ſame inſcription in every reſpect, as we ſhall ſhew immediately. The Right Honourable the Earl of *Oxford* ſhew'd me this book; 'tis a ſmall 4*to*, and very beautifully printed, and well preſerv'd. Sir *Thomas Bodley* had this in his library, which he preſented to the univerſity of *Oxford*, where it is ſtill kept. Dr. *James* publiſh'd a catalogue of all Sir *Thomas*'s books intitled *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ* in 4*to anno* 1605, in the 197 page of which book we find this *Tully*'s *Offices* with the following inſcription, *Ejuſdem liber de Officiis*, &c. *an.* 1465. About 70 years after this, *Dr. Thomas Hyde* publiſh'd his catalogue of all the books in the univerſity library, printed at *Oxford* in *fol. ann.* 1674, in which he gives the date of the book *pag.* 162; which is the ſame with the former, and confirm'd by *Antony Wood*'s hiſtory of that univerſity, printed likewiſe *ann.* 1674, *pag.* 228 [1]. Mr. *Beughen* mentions the ſame date in his liſt of the firſt editions [2], and tells us, that it was reprinted at *Mentz* two years after, *viz. ann.* 1467, and at *Rome* 1468. Father l'*Abbé* [3] ſpeaks of one which he ſaw in the *French* king's library dated 1466, and *Chevillier* ſaw another in the library of the *Mazarin-college*, with theſe words in red letters [4] *This preſent noble work* Tully's Offices *was done by* John Fuſt *citizen of* Mentz *not with pen and ink*, &c. *but by a new art*, &c. *by the hands of my boy* Peter de Gernſheim *ann.* MCCCCLXVI *on the fourth of* February. Several eminent writers, as I have already hinted, have eſteem'd this the firſt printed book; among whom is *Peter Ramus* or *de la Ramee*, Royal profeſſor of Mathematicks in the univerſity of *Paris*, who had this edition in his library, and affirm'd it to be the firſt work

[1] Immo anno Domini 1465 ut fert aliud exemplar in *Bodleiana* [bibliotheca.]

[2] *Moguntiæ* in 4*to* ann. 1465, quæ poſtmodum ſunt recuſa ibidem, *an.* 1467 in 4*to*, & *Romæ* 1468, *&c. Incunab. Typograph.* 46.

[3] *Nov. Biblioth.* MSS. *lib. ſeptim.* pag. 353.

[4] Præſens *M. Tulli* clariſſimum opus *Joan. Fuſt Moguntinus* civis, non atramento, plumali canna neque ærea, ſed arte quadam perpulchra, manu *Petri de Gernſheim*, pueri mei feliciter effeci. Finitum *an.* MCCCCLXVI, quarta die menſis februarii. *Chevil.* p. 18.

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produc'd by the art of Printing [1] in this he has been follow'd by our country-man *Anth. Wood* in the book before quoted; by *Paſquier* in his *Recherches de la France*, lib. 4. ch. 4; and by ſeveral others. 'Tis very probable that the edition of 1465 and 1466 may be the ſame, the laſt ſheet only reprinted; which may be eaſily known by comparing them together; and it were to be wiſh'd, that ſome of the Curioſo's of *Oxford* would take that trouble, ſince they are both there, as appears from *Ant. Wood*'s liſt.

AFTER the finiſhing of this book, *Fauſt* is ſuppos'd to have died, or loſt his ſight (as ſome report,) or at leaſt to have grown ſo rich, that he left the buſineſs wholly to his ſon-in-law *Peter Schoeffer*, who then inſtructed his ſon *John* in that art. We find no more books printed in *Fauſt*'s name, all the reſt being in *Peter Schoeffer*'s, ſome of whoſe inſcriptions are given in the *fourth* chapter.

I have dwelt ſomewhat longer upon theſe noble relicks of our firſt printers, becauſe I am ſenſible of the great value, which the curious and learned have for them.

I come now to thoſe of other, but fictitious dates, which it will not be improper to ſay ſomething of, in order to prevent the reader from being deceiv'd or puzzled by them.

AMONG all the apocryphal editions that are to be met within any library, excluſive of thoſe which are ſuppos'd to have been printed with wooden blocks, and diſcours'd of already in a diſtinct chapter, that which bears the oldeſt date is the Book of Sermons *de Sanctis* by *Leonard de Utino*. *John Godfrey Olearius*, *Lutheran* miniſter of St. *Mary*'s church at *Hall* in *Saxony*, ſays it is ſtill preſerv'd in the library of that church, and dated 1446, tho' there be no mention of the place where it was printed: the reader will find his account of it quoted in the margin [2], in his book de *Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*, publiſh'd under the title of *Abacus Patrologi-*

[1] Cum primum *Typographia* exemplum *Moguntiæ* editum ſit anno 1466 — ut conſtat ex *Ciceronis Officiis*, quæ primum omnium librorum typis æneis impreſſa ſunt: Exemplar *Officiorum* iſtorum habeo in membrana impreſſorum. *P. Ramus Schol. Mathem. lib.* 2.

[2] *Leonardus de Utino*, ordin. *prædic.* —— Ejus *ſermonum de Sanctis* liber ſub ipſa *Typographicæ* artis incunabula *anno* 1446 impreſſus, abſque tamen loci mentione, habetur in bibliotheca templi *Mariani* noſtri *Hall*. Confer. Dn. parentis *Halygraph.* Appendice T. t. t. 1. B. Sermones ejuſdem Quadrageſimales & Dominicales ann. 1479 prodierunt. *Abac. patrolog.* p. 291.

cus in 8*vo* at *Jena* 1673, in which he quotes the teſtimony of his father *Godfrey Olearius*, who wrote the hiſtory of *Hall*, printed at *Leipſick* in 4*to*. *ann.* 1667. *Chevillier* obſerves very juſtly, that *Olearius* hath mention'd neither the ſize nor printer of this ancient book; and that all who have ſince ſpoken of it, rely upon his teſtimony: he thinks therefore that it ought to have been more nicely enquired into, ſince if the date be true, it entirely overturns the receiv'd opinion that this art was not perfected 'till the year 1450: the reaſons of his ſuſpecting it is, becauſe *Utinus* liv'd in *Italy ann.* 1445, according to *Poſſevinus*, and can hardly be ſuppos'd to have had ſuch credit in *Germany*, as that his ſermons ſhould be printed after a new method ſcarce known to above *five* or *ſix* perſons: he is therefore of opinion, that the book is a manuſcript, or that *Olearius* has gueſs'd at the date, or which is moſt likely, that this is the date of the compiling, not of the printing of it.

Mr. *Mattaire* has taken the pains to ſolve the greateſt part of theſe doubts, and given the following account of it [1]; „ That a very curious „ and learned gentleman of his acquaintance met with a copy of it at „ *Aix la Chapelle* in a monaſtery of regular monks, out of which he tran- „ ſcrib'd the following colophon printed at the end of it, in *Engliſh* thus;

Thus end the golden ſermons upon the Saints throughout the whole year, compil'd by Maſter Leonard de Utino, *doctor of divinity, of the order of the fryars.*

[1] Jam dabo tibi, lector, quod in votis habuit *Chevillierus*; unde editio tantæ vetuſtatis ſpecie venerabilis teſtimonio novo certior fiat & notior. Vir quidam literarum peritus—— dum Aquisgrani peregrinabatur ibi in *Regularium* cœnobio vidit librum ſupra memoratum, in *fol.* ex quo deſcripſit hæc, quæ in libri ipſius fine adjiciuntur.

Expliciunt ſermões aurei de Sanctis per totum annum, quos compilavit mgr. *Leonardus de Utino* ſacre Theologie doctor, ordinis fratrum predicator. ad inſtanciam & complacentiam magnifice civitatis *Utinenſis* ac nobiliũ virorum ejuſdem MCCCCXLVI in vigilia beatiſſimi patris noſtri Dominici confeſſoris, ad laudeȝ & gl'aȝ Dei omnipotentis & totius curie triumphantis.

Libri ipſius character impolitus & rudis; abbreviaturiſque frequentibus adeo refertus, ut ejus lectio nequaquam ſit, quam illorum *Moguntiæ* annis 1459 & 1460 excuſorum facilior. *Annal. Typogr.* p. 25.

Preachers,

Preachers, at the inſtance and intreaty of the magnificent city of Utino, *and the noble citizens thereof* MCCCCXLVI, *on the eve of our bleſſed father Dominick confeſſor, to the praiſe and glory of almighty God, and of the whole triumphant court.*

Mr. *Mattaire* adds, that the characters of it are very rude and ill ſhap'd and ſo full of abbreviations, that they are as difficult to read, as thoſe printed at *Mentz ann.* 1459 and 1460.

THIS makes it abundantly plain, that tho' the book carries the above-mention'd date, yet it bears teſtimony that the compiling and not the printing of it, is there intended; ſo that not only the difficulty diſappears, but *Chevillier's* conjecture is manifeſtly ſupported: And Mr. *Mattaire* ſeems entirely of this opinion, and beſides inſtances in a book or two which he hath, whoſe dates as he aſſures us, were thoſe of their being compil'd; tho' the obſcurity of their inſcription, might poſſibly lead an unwary reader to take it for that of its impreſſion: and indeed it is an unreaſonable ſuppoſition, that Printing could have been brought to ſuch a degree of perfection at that time, againſt the general teſtimony of writers: beſides neither the abbreviations, nor the rudeneſs of the character, can be a ſufficient index of their antiquity, ſeeing, as he obſerves, they continued in uſe among ſome eminent Printers even beyond the year 1500. In the next place I ſhall mention ſome editions, whoſe dates are certainly prov'd to be wrong. The firſt is the *Regula Paſtoris* of Pope *Gregory*; a copy of which is in the *French* king's library, with this inſcription ſuppos'd to be written at the end; *Tentamentum Fauſti*, an eſſay of *John Fauſt ann.* 1459: now it is plain from what has been ſaid before that *Fauſt* was ſo far from making any eſſays at that time, that he had already printed ſeveral perfect editions, Mr. *Mattaire* gives us this account of it *p.* 22. that he met with a book in *4to* in the king's library at *Paris*, without the name of either place or Printer, only with this title, *Liber Regulæ paſtoralis* Gregorii *papæ ad* Johannem *epiſcopum* Ravenenſem: at the beginning of which *Gabriel Naudé* had written two verſes to the reader with his own hand, intimating that book to have been certainly printed by *Fauſt* at *Mentz*, becauſe the mark of the paper which is the head and horns of

an heifer, is an infallible criterium of *Fauſt*'s books. And an advertiſement in which he confirms his aſſertion, from the rudeneſs of the types, the want of diphthongs, and ſome other circumſtances that favour the infancy of the art; and concludes, that *Fauſt* would not put his name, *&c.* to it, 'till his frequent eſſays had embolden'd him to make himſelf publick, as he did afterwards in the *Durand*'s *Rationale* of 1459, *Catholicon*, &c.

Mr. *Mattaire* doth indeed prove plainly enough, that the rudeneſs of the types, and want of dates, names, *&c.* continued ſome conſiderable time after the diſcovery of the art, and conſequently that that could be no certain mark of its being one of *Fauſt*'s firſt eſſays: however as nothing certain can be affirm'd concerning this book, we ſhall dwell no longer upon it. I have ſeen *Æneas Sylvius's* letters printed by *Koelhoff* of *Lubeck*, which is certainly antedated, for this reaſon, ſeveral dates in the letters being ten years older than the date of the book itſelf. There is another of his books in *fol.* in the library of the *Sorbon*, with a falſe date at the end of theſe words, *Flores de diverſis ſermonibus & epiſtolis* B. Bernardi *per me* Joan. Koelhoff *de* Lubeck *colonienſem civem impreſſi an.* MCCCC, *feliciter finiunt:* for 'tis plain the art was not ſo much as thought of at that time, nor perfected 'till 50 years after: but what demonſtrates the falſeneſs of the date is, that this *John Koelhoff* was ſcarce born then, ſince he printed the works of *N. Gerſon* in 4 *vol.* in *fol.* at *Cologn ann.* 1483, which are of the ſame make and character as the *Flores* abovementioned, as *Chevillier p.* 10 and 11 obſerves, who therefore thinks that the following numbers LXXXII were omitted at the end of MCCCC. The ſame author mentions two or three editions more of the ſame nature, the laſt of which is the *Manipulus Curatorum* of *Guy Mout Rocher* with the following uncommon date at the end [a] *Printed at* Paris *in the year one thouſand* CCCC *and twenty three, amen:* 'tis plain that the art was not brought to *Paris* 'till the year 1470, as ſhall be ſhown in its place; ſo that the laſt C muſt have been taken up by the balls, or loſt ſome other way. Upon the whole it may be eſteem'd a general rule that all dates before the year 1450 are falſe; and this is corroborated with the ſuffrage of all learned writers upon this

[a] Completus *Pariſiis* anno Domini milleſimo CCCC viceſimo tertio, amen. *Chevil.* p. 11.

ſubject.

ſubject. In the mean time as it is not reaſonable to imagine, that *Fauſt* and *Schoeffer* could be altogether idle from the year 1452, in which they are ſuppos'd to have finiſh'd their firſt *Bible*, to 1457, in which they publiſh'd the *Pſalter*, (unleſs we can ſuppoſe that *Fauſt*'s law-ſuit with *Guttenbergh*, and his journey and ſtay in *France*, could take him up *five* whole years, and that his ingenious ſon did not venture upon any work by himſelf;) if time and induſtry ſhould, as we may reaſonably hope it may, diſcover any more of thoſe old and valuable monuments of the infancy of the art; provided ſuch impreſſions bear either a certain date or mark of their being done at *Mentz*, and by our *Protodædali* before the diſperſion of their ſervants, or even after that time; I doubt not but the learned will allow them a proper rank in the liſts, which ſhall be publiſh'd hereafter.

CHAP. X.

Remarkable Occurrences between the year 1450, *and the Divulgation of the* Art.

THO' I propos'd to avoid all unneceſſary repetitions, yet this chapter being deſign'd as a ſhort recapitulation of the hiſtory of the firſt *twelve* years, the thread of which has been unavoidably interrupted by controverſy; and to introduce ſome material occurrences, which could not properly be inſerted in any other chapter, or ſuch as may have eſcap'd the readers memory; I find the impoſſibility of joyning theſe notable events together, without interſperſing them with moſt of thoſe already touched upon: and this has render'd an apology before hand highly neceſſary.

I begin with the year 1450, in which 'tis agreed by moſt authors, that the art was perfected in theory and practice, the inventors having prepar'd their tools and materials, and made a great number of eſſays; thinking they might with ſafety attempt ſome conſiderable volume: Their next care was to carry on the buſineſs without danger of being diſcover'd: to this end they admitted as few ſervants as poſſible into any part of the ſe-

cret,

cret, and ſuch only upon whoſe fidelity they might depend, engaging them to the greateſt ſecrecy by an oath. This being done they allotted to them their ſeveral provinces; but conceal'd every branch of Letter-founding and compoſing. If my authority be required, ſince all our accounts relating to theſe beginnings are ſo obſcure and imperfect; I anſwer, that this may reaſonably be infer'd from a remarkable paſſage out of the learned *Hen. Pantaleon*, a phyſician of *Baſil*, part of which I have already quoted in a former chapter, as far as it related to *Fauſt* and *Schoeffer*'s being the authors of this art; the remainder of it is as follows[1]: „ This art was at the firſt kept very ſecret and communicated to „ but very few; for they (*Fauſt* and *Schoeffer*) tyed up the types in bags, „ which they brought into the work-room, and took away when they „ went out, 'till at length in proceſs of time the buſineſs increaſing caus'd „ the Art to be divulg'd. „ All the authors quoted by us agree with *Pantaleon* about their keeping the Art with all imaginable ſecrecy, but ſcarce any have inform'd us of this circumſtance, of their carrying their types with them to and out of the work-room; which would have been a vain precaution, had they intruſted any but themſelves in the compoſitor's part. However it is evident that the whole ſecret did not conſiſt therein; the cutting the Punches, ſinking them into the Matrices, making the Moulds and caſting the Letters, might be ſtill a ſecret to any one that had been intruſted ſo far as to go through all the branches of the buſineſs of Printing; and he muſt have been a perſon of a ſurprizing genius who could have found out the myſtery of Letter-founding by barely ſeeing the letters, therefore the keeping that part to themſelves was making it a greater ſecret than all the oaths they could bind them with.

THE next remarkable occurrence is that of their admitting *John Guttenbergh* a wealthy goldſmith into partnerſhip with them, as it is related by the laſt nam'd author, by *Salmuth*, and others quoted in the *third* chapter. This gentleman finding his neighbour *Fauſt* engag'd in a new and advantagious invention, which he wanted money to carry on, and attra-

[1] Erat enim ars illa primo abſcondita & paucis manifeſtata; litteras enim in ſacculis clauſis ſecum in Officinas ferebant, ac dum abeunt, aufereba nt; donec temporis ſucceſſu ars aucta atque plurimum illuſtrata fuit. *Do illuſtribus German.* part. 2, pag. 397.

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cted by a proſpect of gain, offer'd his purſe and aſſiſtance upon good terms to *Fauſt*; who gladly accepted the propoſal. But *Guttenbergh* purſuing his own private rather than the common intereſt, and having attain'd ſome inſight into the art, began to object that *Fauſt* had converted ſome of the money to his own uſes, and refus'd the payment of his dividend of the charges; 'till *Fauſt* had obtain'd a decree, which oblig'd him to pay his moiety of what the plaintiff ſhould ſwear had been expended upon the common fund: this he evaded by giving a bond payable ſome time after, and eſcaping to *Strasburgh* his native city, before it was due. But he firſt took care to learn as much of the art, as he could, to furniſh himſelf with Printing-tools, and to draw off ſome of *Fauſt*'s ſervants with him. At *Strasburgh* he communicated to *John Mentel* or *Mentelin* the ſecret, and his deſign of ſetting up a Printing-houſe there: however neither he nor his workmen were ſo throughly inſtructed in the buſineſs, but they were oblig'd to demur a conſiderable time before they could perfect every thing for the work, and to make many tryals in order to attain the right method; which is evident from this, that there is no book extant with *Mentel*'s name 'till the year 1473, and not at all with *Guttenbergh*'s; for it is ſcarce probable, that if they had printed any conſiderable volumes before that time, they ſhould all have periſh'd without being ſo much as taken notice of by any author, and eſpecially by their learned townſman *Wimpheling:* whilſt there remain ſo many of *Fauſt*'s in the writings and in the hands of the learned and curious. During this time *Fauſt* finding himſelf impos'd upon by *Guttenbergh*, and diſappointed of the money expected, and wanting either will or power to ſue him in that city where he fled, form'd a ſtrategem to raiſe himſelf a freſh ſupply, which ſucceeded according to his wiſh; for he went to *Paris* with ſome of his fineſt vellum *bibles*; one of which was ſold to the king for 750 crowns, and is ſtill to be ſeen in the royal library at *Paris*, a maſter-piece in that kind: another was bought by the Archbiſhop of *Paris* for 300 crowns: but as people were unwilling to give ſo exorbitant a price, he offer'd ſome of the laſt for 50 crowns and leſs, in hopes to have diſpos'd of them all before he was diſcover'd. It is not indeed to be ſuppos'd, that they were all equal in the ornamental part; yet the beauty of the work,

the

the elegancy of the flower-pieces, initial letters, *&c.* the variety of the fineſt colours intermix'd with gold and ſilver, with which they were exquiſitely variegated, made the purchaſers fond of ſhewing them to their acquaintance; as every one thought the whole world could not produce ſuch another. 'Tis reported that the Archbiſhop thinking his *bible* worth his majeſty's ſeeing, carried it to him; who view'd it with ſurprize, and in return ſhew'd his own: upon a ſtricter examination and comparing 'em together, they found that the ornaments were not exactly the ſame; but as to the other part ſuppos'd to be written, they obſerv'd ſuch a conformity in the number of pages, lines, words, and even the letters, as ſoon convinc'd them that they were done by ſome other method than tranſcribing: beſides two ſuch *bibles* were the work of a man's life-time to tranſcribe; and upon enquiry he was found to have ſold a much greater number. Hereupon orders was given to apprehend *Fauſtus*, and proſecute him as a **Conjurer**: I ſhould have been apt to think this charge too abſurd to gain belief, except among the vulgar; and that it was only conniv'd at, in hopes it would terrify him to a diſcovery of his art, were it not for a paſſage which I have met with in Mr. *Maichel*'s hiſtory of the *Paris* libraries, wherein he mentions a ſtrange problem publiſh'd by Father *Bouhours*, a learned Jeſuit — *Whether it be poſſible that a* German *ſhould be a wit?* Mr. *Maichel* juſtly takes the part of his country-men, and proves them much wiſer for the invention of Printing, than thoſe ſtupid *Paris* doctors, who rather believ'd it an effect of **Magick**, than of human wit or invention. *De la Caille* relates that he fled to *Mentz*, and ſuſpecting his ſafety there, departed to *Strasburgh*, where he taught *John Mentel* or *Mentelin* his Art: but there is not the leaſt probability for this aſſertion, ſince he could not be ſafer at one place than at another; and with reſpect to *Mentel*, it is much more probable that he learn'd the invention from *Guttenbergh*, than from *Fauſt* who perhaps was never at *Strasburgh*, unleſs he paſs'd thro' it in his journey to and from *France*.

HOWEVER, the parliament of *Paris* thought fit to make an arreſt in favour of him, and to diſcharge him from all further proſecution, in conſideration of his noble invention; and as I am credibly inform'd, a ſalary was paid by that crown to *Fauſt*'s deſcendants for many years after, as a reward for his ſufferings and merit: this was the end and ſucceſs of that

expedition,

expedition, and prov'd at length very advantagious to him; and made ſome amends for the melancholy hours of his confinement, and the terrors of an approaching death.

FAUST diſcharg'd thus with honour and a large ſupply of money, return'd to *Mentz*, where being inform'd that his quondam partner *Guttenbergh* was endeavouring, with the aſſiſtance of *Mentel*, to ſet up a printing-houſe at *Strasburgh*, and to challenge to himſelf the whole glory of the invention; he began to conſider, that it was not only in vain, but even dangerous to conceal himſelf and his art any longer from the world; and 'tis probable, reſolv'd at laſt to make both as publick as poſſibly he could in all the editions, which came from his preſs, 'till at leaſt, *ann.* 1466 or 1467, in which he is ſuppos'd to have reprinted the laſt leaf of *Tully*'s *Offices*, the laſt book known to be printed by him. During the interval between 1457, and the taking of *Mentz ann.* 1462, *Fauſt* meeting with prodigious encouragement, was oblig'd to increaſe the number of his workmen, and open more of the art to them, than he had done 'till then. Some of theſe having attain'd a ſufficient inſight into the myſtery, were induc'd to go ſomewhere elſe, and ſet up for themſelves; to which they were encourag'd, both by the example of thoſe who went away with *Guttenbergh*, and probably by invitations from other places, which were deſirous of having the Art brought to them. *Pantaleon* tells us, that ſome of thoſe who ſignaliz'd themſelves the firſt in *Italy*, were of that number; and indeed if we conſider how ſoon they began to print in that kingdom, eſpecially *Rome*, *Venice*, *&c.* and make a juſt allowance for preparing the great apparatus of a Printing-houſe, with their firſt eſſays, before they came to work off thoſe volumes, which are of the oldeſt date, ſome of them pretty large; we cannot but think that they left *Mentz* long before it was taken. *Fauſt* however had a ſufficient number of ſervants left to finiſh his laſt editions, which are mention'd before; after this we hear no more of him 'till the year 1471, wherein *Peter Schoeffer* and one *Henlif* a bookſeller gave a book to a monaſtery, in order to obtain the prayers of it for *Fauſt*'s ſoul: by which it was apparent he was dead before that time, or perhaps before 1470, becauſe *Schoeffer* in that year printed St. *Jerom*'s *Epiſtles* in his own name, without any mention of his maſter *Fauſt*.

HERE therefore I am oblig'd to conclude the hiſtory of that *illuſtrious man*, tho' I ſhould have been vaſtly more ſatisfy'd in communicating other particulars of his life and death, could I have found 'em in the writers of thoſe times. But *Germany* is not the only ungrateful country that has neglected ſuch as have beſt deſerv'd of her; for the following books will furniſh us with inſtances of this in other parts of the world. I ſhall only obſerve, that as it is the property of falſe deſert to be ſolicitous for panegyricks and monumental records, whilſt true and intrinſick merit is ſilent, and equally contemns both; ſo whilſt the *Dutch* beſtow the higheſt encomiums upon a *ſuppoſitious and imaginary inventor:* the *Germans* have been ſo regardleſs of a *true* and *real* one, as to leave it entirely to his own works to tranſmit his praiſes to poſterity. If *Fauſt* had died before the ſacking of *Mentz*, we might have had grounds to ſuppoſe, that ſome monument had been erected to his memory by his fellow-citizens, and deſtroy'd by the conqueror; but as he ſurviv'd thoſe times at leaſt *ſix* or *ſeven* years, and carry'd on and improv'd the Art during that interval, 'tis impoſſible to entertain ſo favourable an opinion of the *Moguntines*. However his books and the art which he left us, will more effectually and univerſally proclaim and perpetuate his name and memory, than any monumental inſcriptions, *&c.* and endear both to the learned and curious, as long as the Art or the world itſelf ſhall endure.

THERE is one occurrence worthy to be mention'd, which I omitted in this chapter, not ſo much out of forgetfulneſs or neglect, ſince it is an inſtance of *Fauſt*'s gratitude and generoſity, as becauſe it is not eaſy to fix the time of it, nor ſo likely to have happen'd within the compaſs of theſe *ten* years, as of ſome of the former, *viz.* between 1440 and 1450. That is, his giving his only daughter in marriage to his ſervant *Peter Schoeffer*, admitting him into partnerſhip, and procuring him the freedom of the city of *Mentz*, as a reward for his ſervices, and the improvements which he made to the Art; ſuch as the invention of punches, matrices, metal-types; and, as ſome report, Printer's ink: if theſe diſcoveries are owing to him, *Fauſt* made him as ample amends as he could poſſibly. I wiſh *Schoeffer* had been ſo grateful to his generous maſter, as to have tranſmitted to us a fuller account of his life and character, than what we enjoy; or if he perform'd this, that time had not depriv'd us of

of ſo valuable a monument; the want of which obliges me, much againſt my will, to bring this chapter and hiſtory to a concluſion, and reſt ſatisfy'd with what we have.

CHAP. XI.

The Concluſion with an Account of the antient Method of Printing.

I AM now come to the cloſe of the firſt book of this hiſtory, which I have endeavour'd to inrich with collections from dead and living authors, and every thing valuable that I could procure upon this ſubject, from many of the moſt curious libraries. The next book will open a large and pleaſant ſcene. In the mean time I cannot conclude this better, than by giving a ſhort ſummary of the whole, and digeſting it into diſtinct periods, that the reader may, as it were at one view, ſee the whole progreſs of the Art, and fix it more eaſily in his memory; and by cloſing it with an account of the old way of printing us'd during the time of *Fauſt*, his ſon-in-law, *&c.*

1. THIS Art was devis'd a conſiderable time before any thing done that way appear'd.

2. 'TIS not improbable that the firſt hints of engraving upon wooden-blocks might come from the *Chineſes*, who practis'd it above 300 years before it was thought of in *Europe*.

3. THE attempts to imitate it began about the year 1440, and not before.

4. THE new and more perfect method of Printing with fuſile-types did not ſucceed it 'till 10 years after, *viz.* 1450.

5. THIS new invention was diſcover'd by *John Fauſt* in the city of *Mentz*; in the perfecting of which *Peter Schoeffer* aſſiſted him very much, and was amply rewarded by his maſter.

JOHN GUTTENBERGH had no other ſhare or merit in this diſcovery, than by promoting it with ſupplies of money from time to time, and that not from a principle of a publick ſpirit, but for his own intereſt, which made him drop both the Art and Artiſt when he found it leſs gainful than he expected.

6. THIS invention was kept with all imaginable ſecrecy by theſe three parties, 'till *Guttenbergh*, upon a difference between them, took ſome of their ſervants with him to *Strasburgh*, where he began to practiſe it, and to teach it to *John Mentel:* The perſon in whoſe favour the *Strasburgh* pretenſions were afterwards ſtarted.

7. THIS contention not happening 'till the year 1455, they had already printed the *latin bible*, and perhaps privately diſpos'd of ſome number of the copies, ſeeing their diſpute was about ſtating their accounts, and balancing the charges and profits of the buſineſs.

8. WHETHER their firſt ſeparate types were of wood, or lead, or any other metal; they ventur'd to print their firſt eſſays but on one ſide of the page, 'till they had found out a better ink than the common ſort which they then us'd.

9. IT is probable from this circumſtance, that their firſt improvement upon common ink, to prevent its ſpreading, was only by charging it with a proportionable quantity of ſome watery gum; ſuch as gum arabick, maſtick, *&c.* which tho' it remedied that defect, would not ſuffer the paper to be printed but upon one ſide: but either *Schoeffer* or his maſter having found out the way of making it with oyl, they then printed on both ſides.

10. THEY did not begin to put their names and inſcriptions at the end of their books, as we can yet find, 'till the year 1457: this they continued to do 'till *Fauſt* either dyed or left off the buſineſs.

11. GUTTEN-

11. GUTTENBERGH's name was never joyn'd with theirs, nor put to of the books which he printed after he abandon'd *Fauſt*.

12. SOME others of *Fauſt*'s ſervants forſook him before the taking of *Mentz*, and ſettled ſome at *Cologn*, others in *Italy*.

13. THE greateſt diſperſion of them was, when that noble city was taken and plunder'd by Archbiſhop *Adolph*, *ann.* 1462; ſo that the Art became univerſally known throughout *Europe*.

THERE remains now only to give the reader an idea of the firſt way of Printing, and of what is moſt peculiar to it; which, tho' a ſubject well known by the curious, may not be unacceptable to ſeveral perſons, to whoſe hands this work may chance to fall.

1. WITH reſpect to their forms, they were generally either large or ſmall *folio's*, or at leaſt *quarto's:* the leſſer ſizes were not in uſe.

2. THE leaves were without running-title, direction-word, number of pages, or diviſions into paragraphs.

3. THE character itſelf was a rude old *Gothic* mix'd with *Secretary*, caſt on purpoſe to imitate the hand-writing of thoſe times; the words were printed ſo cloſe to one another, that it was difficult and tedious even to thoſe who were us'd to MSS. and to this method; and often lead the inattentive reader into miſtakes.

4. THEIR orthography was various and often arbitrary; and as for the diphthongs æ and œ, they were not at all careful about them.

5. THEY had very frequent abbreviations, which in time grew ſo numerous and difficult to be underſtood, that there was a neceſſity of writing a book to teach the manner of reading them.

6. THEIR periods were diſtinguiſh'd by no other points than the double and ſingle one, *i. e.* the *colon* and *full ſtop*; juſt after the ſame man-

ner:

ner as the reading *pſalms*, in our *Common prayer-books* are pointed; all other punctuations being of much later invention.

7. THEY us'd no great letters to begin a ſentence or proper name of men or places.

8. THEY left blanks for the places of titles, initial letters, and other ornaments, in order to have them ſupply'd by the illuminators, whoſe ingenious art, tho' in vogue before and at that time, yet did not long ſurvive the maſterly improvements made by the printers in this branch of their Art. Thoſe ornaments were exquiſitely fine, and curiouſly variegated with the moſt beautiful colours, and even with gold and ſilver; the margins likewiſe were frequently charged with variety of figures of ſaints, birds, beaſts, monſters, flowers &c. which had ſometimes relation to the contents of the page, tho' moſtly none at all: theſe embelliſhments were very coſtly; but for thoſe that could not afford a round price, there were others done after a more ordinary manner and at much cheaper rates.

9. THE names of the printer, place, &c. were either wholly neglected or put at the end of the book, not without ſome pious ejaculation or doxology.

10. THE date was likewiſe omitted or involv'd in ſome crampt circumſtantial period, or elſe printed either at full length, or by numerical letters, and ſometimes partly one and partly the other, thus; *one thouſand* CCCC and *ſixty*, &c. but all of them at the end of the book.

11. THERE was no variety of characters, no intermixture of *Roman* and *Italick*; which were of later invention; but their pages were continued in a *Gothick* letter of the ſame ſize throughout.

12. THEIR *Rubricks* which were very frequent and added no ſmall beauty to the pages, were ſometimes done by the ſame hands as the initial letters.

13. WHEN-

13. WHENEVER they met with any *Greek*, they either left a blank for it, to be afterwards fill'd up by writing if the paſſage was long; or if ſhort, conſiſting only of three or four words, they got it cut on wood, tho' after ſuch a rude and ill-ſhap'd manner, that it required ſome pauſe to be read.

14. THE quotations of the places out of which they were taken, were very often neglected both in Manuſcripts and printed books, which caus'd the curious no ſmall trouble to find them out.

15. THEY had ſeldom dedicatory or prefatory epiſtles; and when they began afterwards to retail them in their impreſſions, they generally plac'd 'em at the end of the work; a piece of juſtice as much neglected, as wanting in our age.

16. THEY collected no *table* of *contents*, no *index* nor *ſummary*, (which are indubitably a great help to the reader,) nor any *errata's* at the end; for what faults were in their editions were rather owing to the manuſcripts which they printed after, than to the careleſneſs of the Printer.

17. THEY printed but few copies at once, for 200 or 300 were then eſteem'd a large impreſſion; tho' upon the encouragements receiv'd from the learned, they increas'd their numbers in proportion.

18. LASTLY, If I may be allow'd this article, they were not ſolicitous to obtain *privileges* and *patents* for the ſole printing of any particular volume, tho' towards the later end of *Fauſt's* time ſeveral of his ſervants ſet up Printing-houſes, and were ambitious to excel their maſter: How ſoon after thoſe privileges began, appears from that granted by the Emperor to *John Schoeffer*, *Fauſt's* grandſon *ann.* 1519, for the ſole printing *T. Livius*, and to prohibit any other to reprint thoſe books which had come from his preſs: and as this had been granted upon the account of his being the grandſon of the firſt inventor of the Art; ſo ſeveral Popes and Princes gave like patents to their firſt Printers as a mark of their favour.

I ſhall

I ſhall here mention ſomething concerning their way of Book-binding, an account of which we find in *Scaliger*[1], who tells us, that his grandmother had a printed Pſalter, the cover of which was two inches thick; in the inſide was a kind of cupboard, wherein was a ſmall ſilver crucifix, and behind it the name of *Berenica Codronia de la Scala.* This book ſeems to have been printed with wood, but probably bound like the reſt.

As to the prices of their books, I cannot find any thing particular except what I have before quoted out of *Campanus's* dedication to the Pope; from which it may be infer'd, that in his time at *Rome* they were ſold for about one fifth part of what the MSS. had done. To this I ſhall add an inſtance of the gift bequeath'd by *P. Schoeffer*, and *Conrad Henlif* of the ſame profeſſion, to a library of monks, which will enable us to gueſs at the great rate they ſtill were ſold for. *La Caille* relates it out of the annals of the abby of St. *Victor* at *Paris*, and it is as follows[2]; „ The „ anniverſary (office for the ſouls) of the honourable *Peter Schoeffer*, „ *Conr. Henlif* and *John Fauſt* citizens and Printers in the city of *Mentz*, „ as alſo for the ſouls of their wives, parents, children, friends and benefactors; which ſaid *P. Schoeffer* and *C. Henlif* have given us the book „ of St. *Jerom's Epiſtles* printed upon vellum (*in two vol. fol. ann.* 1470,) „ excepting nevertheleſs the ſum of twelve golden crowns, which the „ aforeſaid Printers receiv'd from our Lord *John Abbot* of this church „ *Oct.* 29, 1471.

HENCE 'tis plain that the *twelve crowns* (which in thoſe days were more than equivalent to as many *pounds* now) were but part of the price or value of the ſaid book; and that the other part, whatever proportion it bore to this, was remitted to them in conſideration of this anniverſary office, to which there us'd to be no price fix'd, tho' the leaſt for it was generally *five* or *ſix crowns.*

I conclude this chapter with an obſervation of Monſ. *de la Monoye* concerning the phraſe of *Libri editi*, which I hope the curious will be pleas'd with: he tells us, that this phraſe was us'd before the invention of Prin-

[1] *Scaligeriana, Hag. edit. in* 8*vo.* p. 173.

[2] Anniverſarium honorabilium virorum *Petri Schoeffer* & *Conradi Henlif*, ac *Joan. Fuſt*, civium de *Moguntia*, impreſſorum, necnon uxorum, filiorum, parentum, amicorum & benefactorum; qui *Petrus* & *Conradus* dederunt nobis *Epiſtolas beati Hieronymi* impreſſas in Pergameno, excepta tamen ſumma duodecim ſcutorum auri quam præfati impreſſores receperunt per manus Domini *Joannis* Abbatis hujus eccleſiæ, 3 kalend. Novemb. *ann.* 1471. *De la Caille*, pag. 14.

ting.

ting, and ſignified only books publiſh'd and diſpers'd abroad in ſome conſiderable number, in oppoſition to thoſe that were writ fair to be ſet up in libraries, which were call'd *Libri ſcripti.* This obſervation he proves from a paſſage out of *Philelphus*, who ſpeaking of his ten books of *latin odes*, expreſſes himſelf as follows; *Carminum libri editi quinque, verſuum quinque millibus; nam alteri quinque qui tantundem verſus complectentur, partim ſcripti ſunt non editi, partim ne ſcripti quidem*, i. e. *five books of the latin odes are already publiſh'd, containing* 5000 *verſes; the other five, which will contain the ſame number, are partly written not publiſh'd, and partly ſtill unwritten:* he obſerves further, that the firſt *five* book*s* of odes were not ſent to the preſs 'till the year 1497, when they were printed in 4*to.* at *Breſcia:* beſides the ſame *Philelphus* tells his reader in one of his epiſtles written *ann.* 1453, that he deſign'd to publiſh all the ten books in that year, *Libros decem hoc anno edere inſtitui*, which could not be underſtood of Printing, ſeeing tho' the art was perfected about this time, yet it was ſtill kept ſecret 'till *four* years after, when *Fauſt* put his firſt colophon to the Pſalter. Whether this obſervation be as certain as it is curious, I ſhall leave to the judgment of my readers.

CHAP. XI.

An Account of the firſt printed Bibles *before the year* 1501.

AS thoſe authors who have wrote any thing fully upon the ſubject of Printing, have given their readers an account of the firſt Bibles, that have been printed, from the diſcovery of the Art to the year 1500 or even beyond: I thought our *Engliſh* readers would not be diſpleas'd to have a ſhort abſtract given them of thoſe antient and valuable monuments of the art; and I can't but think it will be more acceptable to have them all in one view, than diſpers'd, as they would be, were I to give them under their reſpective Printers, who liv'd at a vaſt diſtance of time and place from one another; eſpecially conſidering that ſome famous cities, and even univerſities, as that of *Louvain*, have not printed ſo much as one ſingle Bible in all the interval between the year

1450 and 1500, and even beyond; whereas others, for inſtance, that of *Nurembergh* has produc'd at leaſt 13 in that time: I ſhall place them according to the years in which they were printed, and add ſuch farther particulars concerning them, as I have been able to meet with in thoſe authors, who have given us an account of them; and ſuch as my own obſervations have enabled me to collect from thoſe noble libraries I have formerly mention'd.

By this the reader will be ſufficiently appris'd, that I intend to ſpeak only of thoſe which bear any certain date; but as for thoſe, which are either prin ed without date, or with a diſputed one, I ſhall juſt ſay ſo much of them, a. will let him ſee how little they are to be rely'd on, and what reaſons I have to paſs them by: I have, I think, already ventur'd to give the reader a rule how to judge of ſuch works, *viz.* if their dates are before the year 1450, they muſt be ſuppos'd to have been wrong printed, either deſignedly, or by miſtake: the reader will find proofs ſufficient of the former in our next book, and the later is too well known to require any: however in this later reſpect I ſhall give him an inſtance or two of it, becauſe it will be a kind of a key to rectify any other that may hereafter fall in his way.

We meet with an account of a *German* Bible, ſtill kept in the library of the city of *Ausburgh*, affirm'd by *Hottinger*, who ſaw it there, to have been printed with fuſile types *ann.* 1448, but with this caveat however, *ni fallor*, *if I am not miſtaken*, as writing at ſome diſtance of time and place: other authors have given it that of 1449, but as either of them preceded the time of the invention, *Malinkrot* tells us, that *Martin Zeiler* thought it 'twas only a manuſcript verſion made *ann.* 1449: but Mr. *Beughen* doth not ſcruple to tell us in the preliminary diſcourſe to his *Incunabula Typographiæ*, that they only miſplac'd the two laſt figures of the date, and printed 1449 inſtead of 1494. *Chevillier* mentions two more out of *Lipenius*, whoſe dates are demonſtrably falſe, the one is a Bible printed at *Paris ann.* 1443, and the other at *Lyons ann.* 1446: whereas it is certain, that Printing was not brought to *Paris* 'till *twenty ſeven* years after the date of the firſt, *viz. ann.* 1470, nor to *Lyons* 'till *ſix* or *ſeven* years after that: the ſame may be ſaid of another printed at *Baſil*, and affirm'd, by two bookſellers of *Geneva* in the catalogue of their books, to bear date

1459,

1459, ſince 'tis plain that that city did not receive the Art 'till about 1475: if the reader therefore will take this rule with him, to examine the time in which the Art was brought to any place, which he will find in the following Book, he will eaſily rectify any wrong date that may come in his way, and as for thoſe, which do not mention the place or Printer's name, he may ſafely rank them amongſt the apocryphal ones, and them which have no date at all, but as the former have been taken notice of by all our annaliſts, I ſhall be obliged ſo far as I am able to aſcertain their reſpective dates, as we go along.

1. BEFORE I come to ſpeak of thoſe, which bear a certain and indiſputable date, I muſt not omit the *firſt* printed by *Fauſt* and *Schoeffer* about 1450 or ſoon after, and mention'd by *Trithemius*, the *Colognian Chronicle*, and ſome other authors, as the firſt conſiderable work printed with fuſile types by thoſe two *Protodædali*. I have already given the reaſons of its being printed without date or colophon, which would have betrayed the diſcovery of their new Art, and prevented *Fauſt*'s ſelling it for MS: but this however ought by no means to hinder us from giving it the firſt rank, ſeeing the fact is ſo undeniably atteſted. It is pity they have been long ago, either deſtroy'd, or buried in ſome private libraries, where the moſt diligent ſearches have not as yet been able to find them out: perhaps its being printed ſo like MS, may be one reaſon why they are ſtill lookt upon as ſuch by the owners, if any ſuch there be; for which reaſon I am ſtill willing to hope, that time may diſcover and bring ſome of them to light, and that what has been ſaid in this hiſtory, and by authors of a much higher character, will ſpur up ſome curious perſons to make a more diligent ſearch after ſo valuable a monument; 'till when, no farther account can be expected of it than what we have already given.

2. THE next is that, which I have ventur'd, after other authors, to call the ſecond impreſſion of the Bible, printed at *Mentz* by the ſame worthy inventors *ann.* 1462, and which is conſequently the moſt antient we know extant in any library; we have already given ſome account of it in a former chapter *p.* 31, and of the colophon printed at the end of it, which we need not therefore repeat here: as there are ſeveral copies of it here in *London* where I have ſeen them, and elſewhere in *England*, we need not

go to any foreign authors for an account of it: it is printed in *fol.* as indeed all their other works were. For tho' I have follow'd *Peter Lambeck*'s notion of the Pſalters being printed in *4to*, becauſe its ſize may be very much like that of a *quarto*, yet if I may here venture to give my judgment of a book I have not ſeen, I think I have ſufficient grounds to believe that the firſt Printers had their paper made of all ſizes; and that the *five books* printed on Blocks of Wood, already mention'd to be in the Earl of *Pembroke*'s library, would appear to any one like *quarto's*, were it not that the ſignatures ſhew the contrary.

The next impreſſion we meet with, is one which Mr. *Mattaire* gives us upon the authority of a learned friend of his, who deſires to have his name conceal'd, and the want of whoſe date is ſupply'd by a colophon of three *latin* verſes importing, that it was printed in the *third* year of *Lewis* XI. reign, *i. e. ann.* 1464 by the three *German* partners, who brought the Art to *Paris*, tho' there be no mention made of the place where it was printed, vid. *Annal. Typogr.* p. 41, and 60. I am perſuaded that Mr. *Mattaire's* friend was miſtaken in the firſt verſe, and I ſhould not have given it a rank here, nor even mention'd it, were it not to prevent the reader's being puzzled with this account of it under the year 1464; or his ſuppoſing me guilty of an omiſſion: but as *Chevillier* gives us the ſame colophon printed at the end of the firſt *Paris* Bible by the ſame three partners, with this variation however from the former; that in the firſt verſe, inſtead of *Semi luſtrum*, it has *tribus luſtris*, that is inſtead of the *third*, it imports the *thirteenth* year of that king's reign: we may eaſily ſuppoſe, that it was the firſt *Paris* Bible of 1475, and that this unknown gentleman might poſſibly be miſtaken: however the book being in *Queen's-college* library, in *Cambridge* it may be eaſily conſulted.

3. The next impreſſion therefore to that of *Mentz* 1462, is that of *Auſburgh*, [in latin *Auguſta Vindelicorum*] printed by *John Bemler ann.* 1466 in latin *fol.* It is mention'd by *Martin Cruſius*, *Melchior Adamus*, and after them by *Malinkrot*; *Chevillier* ſeems indeed to think their teſtimony inſufficient to aſcertain ſo old a date, but I cannot ſee any reaſon for it, ſeeing it is four years more recent than the taking of the city of *Mentz*, and the diſperſion of *Fauſt's* ſervants; beſides the city of *Ausburgh* was ſo near *Mentz*, and ſo conſiderable withal, that it is no way improbable,

but

but ſome one of them might go and ſettle there even ſooner than the year 1466.

4. The *latin* Bible *fol.* printed at *Reutlingen* [*Reutlingæ*] a ſmall town in *Germany* in the dutchy of *Wirtembergh ann.* 1469, mention'd by *Hallevordius*, Father *le Long*, *De la Caille*, *Chevillier* and others; but more particularly by *John Saubert* in his catalogue of the *Norican* or *Nurembergh* library, where he ſaw it: the Printer of it was *John de Averbach*, we have nothing elſe extant of him at leaſt with his name.

5. The *latin* Bible *fol.* printed about 1471 *Mar.* 15. at *Rome* by *Conrard Sweynheym* and *Arnold Pannartz* [or *Panaratz* as I have ſeen it printed in one of their books] who were the firſt Printers that ſettled in that city: it has a preface, and at the end four *latin* diſtichs in praiſe of thoſe two *Germans*, and a ſmall work or hiſtory of *Ariſteas*, and is tranſlated by *Matthias Palmerius:* the Printers tell Pope *Sextus* IV, in the liſts which they gave him of their works, that they had printed 575 copies of it: concerning this Bible *Spondæus* gives us the following account, *we have*, ſays he, *the Bible printed at* Rome *in two very large volumes* [*ingentibus voluminibus*] *ann.* 1471 *in the houſe of the* Maximis *by two* Germans *named* Conrard Sweynheym *and* Arnold Pannartz.

6. The *Italian* Bible tranſlated by *Nicholaus Malherbis* (in Italian *Malermi*) a *Venetian* abbot of the order of the *Calmaldules*, printed at *Venice ann.* 1471 *Calend. Aug.* in *fol.* by *Vindelin de Spire*, who with his brother *John*, was the firſt who brought the Art of Printing unto that city. *Chevillier* tells us, he has ſeen it in the library of the *Mazarine-college* at *Paris* in two volumes, and that tho' the *imprimatur* doth not mention the Printer, yet it is eaſy to gueſs at him by the *Italian* verſes, which *Squazafica* has put to that edition.

7. Mr. *Mattaire* mentions another *fol. Italian* Bible printed in the ſame year 1571, of *Malhermi's* tranſlation, without Printer or places name. Father *le Long* is the author he has taken it from.

8. The *latin* Bible reprinted at *Mentz* by *Peter Schoeffer ann.* 1472, on the eve of St. *Matthias* the apoſtle *fol.* the learned *Walton* (editor of our *Engliſh* edition of the *Polyglot)* thought this the firſt impreſſion of the Bible, and ſeem'd doubtful of what ſome authors had affirm'd, that they had ſeen ſome more antient editions than that; how much he was miſtaken

the

the reader may judge by the foregoing ones: this Bible has a colophon at the end, not unlike thoſe u'd by his maſter and himſelf, in the former edition and ſome other of their works.

9. Mr. *Mattaire* (after Father *le Long*,) mentions a *latin* impreſſion *ann.* 1473 without Printer or places name. *Annal. Typogr.* p. 100.

10. The *latin* Bible *fol.* printed at *Paris* by *Ulric Gering*, *Martin Crantz*, and *Michael Friburger*, the firſt who ſet up a preſs in that city. This Bible, which *Chevillier* has ſeen in the library of the *Celeſtin* monks, and has given us the colophon of; importing its being printed in the 13th year of *Lewis* XI. reign, *i. e. ann.* 1475, is the ſame which we ſuppoſe Mr. *Mattaire's* friend did inform him to have been printed in the 3d year of that monarch, *i. e. ann.* 1464: we need not therefore repeat here, what we ſaid juſt before under that head; Mr. *Mattaire* however places this under the year 1476.

11. The *latin* Bible printed at *Nuremberg* in the ſame year 1475 in *fol.* by *Anthony Koburger* or *Coburger* firſt Printer of that city; in which library *J. Saubert* tells us, they have a copy ſtill extant, we have another in the publick library at *Oxford.*

12. Another *latin* Bible without Printer or places name, printed alſo *ann.* 1475. *fol. Mattaire* p. 110.

13. The Bible in *Italian* printed by *James de Rubeis*, alias *des Rouges*, at *Pignerol* in *Piedmont*, *ann.* 1475, *fol.* idem.

14. ——— in *latin quarto*, printed at *Placentia* by *John de Ferratis Cremoneſe ann.* 1475.

15. ——— in *low dutch*, *fol.* at *Cologn ann.* 1475, without Printer's name, *idem.*

16. ——— in *latin* printed in *fol. ann.* 1476 at *Venice*, by *Nicholas Jenſon* in *Gothick* character, a copy of which is ſtill to be ſeen in the library of the *Celeſtin* monks at *Paris.*

17. ——— printed at *Venice* by *Francis Hailbrun* and *Nicholas de Frankford* partners, *ann.* 1476 *fol.* *Chevillier* ſeems doubtful, whether this and the laſt are not the ſame edition under different partners names; but Mr. *Mattaire* and father *Orlandi* give them as two different editions.

18. The

18. The Bible in *latin* with canons and concordances *fol.* printed at *Nurembergh* by *Anthony Koburger ann.* 1476. *Orlandi* is the firſt author that has mention'd it: but doth not tell us where he ſaw it or how he came by the knowledge of it.
19. ——— *ead.* printed at *Naples*, *ann.* 1476, *fol.* by *Matthias Moravus de Olomuntz*; the colophon of which has ſome lines in commendation of the Printer.
20. ——— *ead.* printed at *Nurembergh* by *Anthony Koburger ann.* 1477, *fol.* it has the arguments and references like that printed by the ſame Printer *ann.* 1476.
21. ——— *ead. fol.* printed by *Bernard Richel* citizen of *Baſil*, *ann.* 1477, without places name.
22. ——— in *Italian* by *Malhermi fol.* printed at *Venice* by *Anthony de Bononia*, *ann.* 1477.
23. ——— *ead.* printed at *Venice* by *Gabriel de Piero*, a native of *Treviſo*, *ann.* 1477, *fol.*
24. ——— in *high dutch*, *fol.* by *Anthony Sorgius* at *Ausburgh*, 1477.
25. ——— *ead.* 1477, without Printers name.
26. ——— in *low dutch*, *fol.* at *Delph* 1477.
27. ——— *ead.* in *quarto*, 1477.
28. ——— in *latin* with *Gothick* character, *fol.* at *Venice* by *Leonard Wild* for *Francis de Hailbrun* and *Nicholas de Franckford*, 1478.
29. ——— *ead.* in *Gothick*, *fol.* by *Theodoric de Reynsberg* and *Reynald de Novimagio*, *fol.* 1478.
30. ——— *ead.* with the arguments and references of *Menardus Monachus*, *fol.* printed at *Nurembergh* by *Anthony Coburger*, 1478.
31. ——— *ead.* in Gothic *fol.* at *Venice* by *Nic. Jenſon*, 1479.
32. ——— *ead.* with arguments and concordance *fol.* by *Anthony Coburger* at *Nurembergh*, 1479.
33. ——— *ead. fol.* at *Lyons* by *Perrin de Lathomi de Lotharingis*, 1479.
34. ——— *ead. fol.* without Printer's name at *Cologn* 1479.
35. ——— in *low dutch*, *fol.* at *Goude* in *Holland* by *Gerard Leeu*, 1479.

36. Bi-

36. The Bible in *latin* with the apoſtils of *Nic. de Lyra, fol.* by *John de Cologn* and *John Manthen*, 1480; the place is not mention'd, but theſe two printed at *Venice* from 1471 to 1481, if not beyond. *Orland.*
37. ——— *ead. quarto* at *Venice* for *Octavian Scot*, 1480. by *Francis Halibrun.*
38. ——— in *High Dutch* at *Ausburgh*, 2 vol. *fol.* by *Ant. Sergius* citizen of it, 1480.
39. ——— in *Latin fol.* by *Anthony Coburger*, at *Nuremberg* 1480.
40. ——— *ead.* with ſummaries and references *fol.* by *John Zeiner* of *Reutlingen* at Ulms, 1480.
41. ——— *ead.* with apoſtils of *N. de Lyra* 7 vol. *fol. Cologn*, 1480 without printers name.
42. ——— *ead.* with *Gothic* character, by *Leonard Wild* of *Ratisbon, fol.* at *Venice* 1481.
43. ——— *ead.* with poſtills of *N. de Lyra* by *John de Cologn, Nic. Jenſon*, and partners *fol.* 1481; no place nam'd, but they printed at *Venice.*
44. ——— *ead.* in *fol.* by *Conrard Lentorius* at *Nurembergh*, 1481.
45. ——— in *Italian*, by *Malermi fol.* printed at *Venice* for *Octavian Scot*, 1481.
46. ——— in *latin quarto* at *Venice* by *Francis Renner de Hailbrun*, 1482.
47. ——— *ead.* by *Reynhard* of *Strasburg*, and *Nichol. Philipi de Gernſheym fol.* at *Strasburg* [Argentoratum] 1482.
48. ——— by *Ant. Coburger* at *Nuremberg*, 1483.
49. ——— in *quarto* by *Francis Renner de Hailbrun* at *Venice*, 1483.
50. ——— in *fol.* by *John*, ſirnam'd the Great, *Herbort*, *German* at *Venice*, 1483.
51. ——— in *high dutch* by *Ant. Coburger* at *Nuremberg*, 1483.
52. ——— *ead.* in *fol.* at *Ausburg* 1483 without printers name.
53. ——— in *latin fol.* by *John Zainer de Reutlingen. Ausburg* 1484.
54. ——— *ead.* by *Ant. Coburger fol.* at *Nuremberg*, 1484.
55. ——— *ead.* in *quarto* by *John*, ſirnam'd the Great, *Herbort* of *Selgenſtat* at *Venice*, 1484.

56. The Bible in *Latin fol.* at *Nuremberg* without Printer's name 1484.
57. ——— in *Italian fol.* at *Venice* by *Andrea de Pattaſichis de Catharo*, 1484.
58. ——— in *high Dutch* at *Lubeck* by *Stephen Arnold*, 1484.
59. ——— *ead.* at *Stratzburg* no printers name, 1485.
60. ——— in *Latin* at *Antwerp fol.* by *Nicholas Keſter*, 1487.
61. ——— *ead.* in *quarto Venice* 1487, without Printer's name.
62. ——— *ead.* in *fol. Baſil*, 1487, *id.*
63. ——— *ead.* in *fol.* with *Lyra*'s apoſtils, 5 vol. *fol.* no Printer's name but known to be printed by *Ant. Coburger*, *Nuremberg*, 1487.
64. ——— in *French fol.* by *Antony Verard*, *Paris*, 1487.
65 ——— in *high Dutch fol. Ausburg* 1487. no Printer's name.
66. ——— in *Hebrew* with points, *fol.* by *Abraham Ben Rabb. Hhajim* at *Soncino*, 1488.
67. ——— in *Latin*, *fol.* at *Venice* for *Octavian Scot*, 1489.
68. ——— *ead.* in *Gothic* character, *fol.* revis'd by *Stephen Pariſetti* and printed by *James Malieti*, no place's name, 1490.
69. ——— in *high Dutch*, 4to, *Ausburgh*, 1490, no Printer's name.
70. ——— *ead.* 4to, at *Nurembergh*, 1490; no Printer's name, but ſuppos'd to be printed by *A. Coburger.*
71. ——— in *Latin*, *fol.* at *Venice* by *Simon de Gara*, 1491.
72. ——— *ead.* at *Baſil*, 4to, 1491; no Printer's name.
73. ——— *ead.* at *Venice*, 4to, 1491, *id.*
74. ——— *ead.* at *Baſil* by *John Froben*, 8vo, in a ſmall letter, 1491.
75. ——— *ead.* with *Lyra*'s apoſtils, 4 *vol. fol. Stratzburg*, 1492.
76. ——— *ead.* cum gloſſa ordinaria *vol.* 6. *fol. Nurembergh* by *Anthony Coburger*, 1493.
77. ——— in *high Dutch* by *Stephen Arndes*, *fol.* at *Lubeck*, 1493.
78. ——— *ead. Gothic* character, 4to, at *Venice*, by *Fr. Renner de Hailbrun*, 1494.
79. ——— in *Italian*, *folio*, by *John Roſſo*, 1494; *Venice.*
80. ——— in *Latin* 4to, at *Venice* by *Simon Bevilaqua* citizen of *Pavia*, 1494.
81. ——— in *Hebrew*, 8vo, by *Gerſon Ben Moſes* of *Soncino* at *Brixia*, 1494

82. The Bible in *Hebrew*, 4*to* and 8*vo*, at *Piſauro*, 1494; without Printer's name.
83. ——— in *Latin* by *Matthew Hus German*, *fol.* 1494; no place's name, but we find him printing at *Lyons* three years before this.
84. ——— in *high Dutch* 4to, at *Ausburg*, 1494; no Printer's name.
85. ——— in *Latin* with *Ord. Gloſſ.* and *Lyra*'s apoſtils, *fol.* by *Paganino de Paganinis*, 1495.
86. ——— *ead. Gothic* character, by *John Froben de Hamelburgh*, 8vo *Baſil* 1495.
87. ——— *ead.* 4to, by *Jacob* and *Angelus Brittans* at *Breſcia*, 1496.
88. ——— *ead.* with *Ord. Gloſſ.* and *de Lyra*'s apoſtils, 6 *vol. fol.* at *Nuremberg*, 1496; by *Ant. Coburger*.
89. ——— *ead.* corrected by *Angelus de Monte Ulmi* 8vo, printed by *Jerom de Paganinis* at *Venice*, 1497.
90. ——— *ead.* in *Gothic* character with ſummaries, *&c.* by *Franc. Fradin* and *John Pivard* 4to, 1497; no place's name.
91. ——— *ead. fol.* at *Cologn* 1497; without Printer's name.
92. ——— *ead.* at *Strasburgh*, ditto.
93. ——— *ead.* with *Lyra*'s apoſtils 6 *vol. fol. Baſil* 1498; no Printer's name.
94. ——— *ead.* by *Simon Bevilaqua* 4to, *Venice* 1498.
95. ——— *ead.* 4to, by *John Pivard* 1500; no places name.
96. ——— *ead.* by *Simon Voſtre*, *fol. Paris* 1500.
97. ——— *ead. fol.* at *Nuremberg* 1500; no Printer's name.
98. ——— *ead.* by *John Froben*, *Baſil* 1500.
99. ——— *ead.* 8vo, *Lyons* 1500.

I have purpoſedly omitted ſome leſs conſiderable ones, which are either without Printer or places name, or both; becauſe ſuch were only the wretched performances of a few, who made it their buſineſs to reprint the editions of ſome of the moſt famous Printers of *Europe*, whether of the Bible, or of any other conſiderable work; and to vend them underhand for the right ones: this was an abuſe which began very early to be complain'd of; for no ſooner had a *Froben*, *Badius*, *Aldus* or any other great

great Printer publiſh'd a work, which had coſt him infinite pains to correct, as well as great ſums of money to purchaſe the beſt manuſcripts, but they pyrated them in ſuch a ſhameful and incorrect manner, that they could afford to ſell them for leſs than half the price. And as there wanted not ſordid perſons to encourage this vile practice, and to prefer thoſe maim'd performances to the more correct ones, if they could but ſave money by them; it often prov'd that the ſale of a valuable edition was hinder'd, to the great loſs and diſcouragement of the Printer, whilſt the bad ones went off with eaſe: this occaſion'd them to complain of the abuſe, in their prefaces to their works, and to appeal to the learned againſt ſuch practices; ſome of whom (in particular *Eraſmus*) did not fail to write very ſharply againſt thoſe enemies to learning, who were at length come up to ſuch a degree of impudence, as to counterfeit the names, marks and rebus's of the famous Printers, of which we ſhall have occaſion to give an account hereafter. In the mean time, all their complaints and efforts proving ineffectual towards the ſuppreſſing ſuch pyracies; they were forc'd to have recourſe to the higher powers, and to employ the aſſiſtance of their learned patrons, to obtain them patents and privileges for the ſole printing of thoſe works, upon which they had beſtow'd ſo much pains and coſt: but this more properly belongs to the next book to which I am now haſtening.

BOOK II.

The Hiſtory of the Diſperſion, Progreſs and Improvements of PRINTING, from 1462 to 1520.

The INTRODUCTION.

HITHERTO we have ſeen the *Art of Printing* kept with the utmoſt ſecrecy by its inventors, and confin'd to the city of *Mentz*, till the fatal year of its being taken plunder'd and depriv'd of all its former rights and franchiſes, as we have hinted already: which occaſion'd the diſperſion of the greateſt part of *Fauſt's* ſervants whom we muſt ſuppoſe by that time to have been very numerous: theſe ſeeing the deplorable condition to which that noble city was reduc'd, and the difficulty of carrying on the buſineſs any longer with that freedom and encouragement they had till then enjoy'd; and being perhaps inclin'd enough of themſelves to leave their maſters, to go ſettle in ſome of the moſt famous cities of *Europe*, where they were ſure to gain, not only wealth and honour, but the friendſhip of the learned, immediately diſperſed themſelves and ſettled, ſome in the neighbouring cities of *Cologn* and *Ausburgh*, others went to *Rome*, *Venice*, *Paris*, *&c.* where

where they ſoon met with all the encouragement they could wiſh: this happen'd, as we have hinted in the former book in the year 1462. So that *Fauſt* and *Schoeffer*, had happily conceal'd the art from the reſt of the world, at leaſt the ſpace of *twelve* years from the time of its being perfected: we muſt, however, except one of his ſervants *viz. Nic. Jenſon*, who if the date of his firſt book be true and genuine, muſt have given his maſter the ſlip before that fatal period, ſince we find this book finiſhed at *Venice an.* 1461 with great advantage and improvement; we ſhall have occaſion to enquire further into this man and his work, in the ſequel of this book: however, if we except this one ſingle work, we don't find any footſteps of the infant art, being carry'd out of its nurſe's arms duing thoſe twelve years.

But now we muſt conſider it in a different view, diſperſing it ſelf over divers nations, patroniz'd by Popes and Kings, and eſteem'd a divine bleſſing to mankind. It ſeems now to have left the city of *Mentz*, where it yet ſhines there brighter than ever; and at the ſame inſtant diſcovers it ſelf at *Rome*, *Venice*, *Oxford* and *Paris*; and in a ſpace ſhorter than can be imagin'd, becomes conſpicuous over all *Europe*.

As there is ſo great a number and variety of events and remarkable occurrences, which happen'd in ſeveral cities of *Europe*, at the ſame time, or immediately after one another, with reſpect to the firſt printers who ſettled there, the improvements made by them, and the encouragement they receiv'd; it will be abſolutely impoſſible to diſpoſe them in ſuch an order, as may give the reader at once a full view of them all, without interrupting the ſeries, either with reſpect to time or place. Thus, for inſtance, while we ſhew the tranſactions at *Rome*, during the *two* or three firſt years, *Venice*, *Paris*, *Oxford*, *Cologn*, *Milan*, *&c.* will open new ſcenes to our view, attracting our eyes towards them, and oblige us to break the thread of one to begin with that of another; which continual diverſions would rather confound than inſtruct the reader, and render the hiſtory confus'd and tedious. Our beſt annaliſts and hiſtorians being ſenſible of this, have follow'd a better method. Father *Orlandi* in particular, the lateſt that has wrote upon this ſubject, hath taken that of *De la Caille*; who proceeds with every city by it ſelf, from the time it is ſuppos'd to have receiv'd the art, to the end of the century, according to their faireſt claim to priority in point of time; and then goes on with

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the next in order. This method I have choſe, and given under the head of each city the names, character and merit, of each printer that has wrought there, from the time of its receiving the art to the end of the year 1500; and pointed out the excellencies of thoſe who have been eminent in this art, either by the beauty of their types, the elegance and correctneſs of their works, the number of their editions, or any improvements which they made. By this means, I hope the reader will clearly ſee the early progreſs of printing in every place; if not at one view, yet at leaſt in ſuch an order as more eaſily to form an idea, not only of the printers and cities wherein they reſided, but likewiſe of the moſt conſiderable patrons for wealth, learning, &c. of that time, to whoſe character and merit, I have not failed to do juſtice throughout this whole work.

I propos'd at firſt to have clos'd this hiſtory with the fifteenth century; but when I came to conſider that the moſt eminent printers, to whom we owe many important improvements of this art, ſuch as *Aldus* at *Venice*, *Amerbach* and *Froben* at *Baſil*, *Badius* at *Lyons* and *Paris*, with many others, did not begin to appear upon this ſtage, till almoſt the cloſe of it: and that their merit was not diſcover'd till the beginning of the next; I thought it an unpardonable injuſtice to them and my readers, to curtail their hiſtory by too ſcrupulouſly adhering to my propos'd epocha; and therefore have choſen to continue this hiſtory *twenty* years longer, *i. e.* to 1520; and ſometimes made an excurſion beyond that time, when ever any of thoſe excellent maſters have outliv'd it. This has afforded me another agreeable opportunity, *viz.* of mentioning ſome others who did not enter the province of printing till after the fifteenth century.

ANOTHER motive which induc'd me to continue this hiſtory 20 years longer, was, that I found all the improvements that had been made to the art, were made by that time *i. e.* by the year 1520 at leaſt; the foundation of them was ſo far lay'd before that year, that whatever has been done ſince, either with relation to the beauty of letter, elegancy of impreſſion, variety of types, printing in different languages, eſpecially in the eaſtern ones, in different columns, correctneſs and the like, all theſe and many more, had already been carry'd on to ſuch a perfection before this time, that it admitted but of ſmall improvements to be made to it afterwards. I have therefore thought it a much better period to cloſe this

this hiſtory with, than that of 1500 where *Orlandi* concludes his; this has given me an opportunity of mentioning not only the improvements themſelves, but likewiſe thoſe glorious printers to whom we owe them. However, as it would ſwell this book too much to inſert the names of all the printers, that appear'd within thoſe 20 years, they being too numerous, and a great many of them, deſerving rather to be remember'd with ſhame than honour: I have reſolv'd to ſpeak only of thoſe who ſignaliz'd themſelves, either for ſome improvements they made to the art, the beauty and correctneſs of their editions, or any other merit they have been conſpicuous for: it is for that reaſon I have choſen to ſpeak of them in a chapter by it ſelf, after I have clos'd the 15th century, to which I ſhall alſo add in another chapter, an account of the abuſes which crept into the art from its promulgation to 1520, that there may be nothing wanting to make this hiſtory as compleat and inſtructing as poſſible.

IT will be neceſſary to acquaint the reader that tho' we have follow'd the method of the beſt annaliſts, in ſettling the priority of every city, according to the date of the oldeſt extant work, that was printed there, which is certainly the ſureſt way and leaſt liable to miſtakes; yet it is more than probable that they might receive the art much ſooner: ſeeing ſome time muſt reaſonably be allow'd for ſetting up a printing-houſe, and furniſhing it with the neceſſary apparatus, which in the infancy of the art was more difficult to procure, for want of proper workmen acquainted with all the branches of ſuch a tedious work, for which leſs than a year or two could ſcarce ſuffice: and becauſe we are not abſolutely ſure that thoſe editions, which we give for their firſt, were really ſo: Mr. *Mattaire*, who has taken ſuch pains to ſearch the beſt libraries of *London*, *Oxford*, *Paris*, &c. for thoſe old monuments, that he thought he had exhauſted that ſubject, has nevertheleſs poſt dated the claim and rank of ſeveral cities by ſome years; if *Orlandi* may be credited, who afterwards rectify'd them by the diſcovery of ſome older editions; and who can tell what time may produce, that may wholly invert our preſent order: thus for inſtance ſome of the hiſtorians quoted in the laſt book, tell us that *Strasburgh*, *Cologn*, *Francford*, &c. receiv'd the art before any others; yet as we have none of their works extant, but ſuch as were printed ſome years after,

after, we have been oblig'd to give them a lower rank, and place them after *Rome*, *Paris*, *Venice*, &c. The reader may eaſily remember that *Guttenbergh* left *Mentz*, and ſettled at *Strasburgh* ſome years before the taking of the former, *i. e.* before *ann.* 1462; and that he taught *John Mentel* the Art in the latter: yet we meet with no edition done there of older date than 1471, *viz.* the *Decretum Gratiani* printed by *Henry Egeſtein*. Tho' *Cologn* receiv'd ſome of *Fauſt's* fugitive ſervants ſoon after his rupture with *Guttenbergh*, yet the oldeſt edition there, as yet known, is the works of Pope *Leo* I, printed 1470. What became of thoſe impreſſions before that time, is ſcarce worth our enquiring, ſince the beſt of thoſe which have been ſince publiſh'd, are far inferior to thoſe done in *Italy*, *France*, &c. in beauty of character, elegancy of compoſition, correctneſs and choice of MSS to print after; while themſelves proved indolent enough to neglect thoſe improvements even after they had been made in other countries.

HOWEVER 'tis probable they might have ſufficient buſineſs in printing ſmall books of devotion, lives of ſaints, and legends; which, according to the taſt of thoſe times, and of that nation in particular, were eagerly bought up and thumb'd over, 'till ſcarce a leaf was left; while the men of learning and politeneſs were more curious in laying up ſuch only as were a credit not only to the author and Printer, but to the Art it ſelf. But however that be, I hope what I have ſaid will ſufficiently convince the reader, how cautious we ſhould be in fixing the epocha's, and conſequently the rank and claims of every city, in this reſpect; ſince we know not but the next diligent ſearcher may find matter enough to give this order a new turn.

I have ſhown in the cloſe of the laſt book to what a degree of perfection the Art of Printing was advanc'd even before the year 1467, and given there ſome account of that noble edition of *Nich. Jenſon*, which is ſuppos'd to be done *ann.* 1461, with the encomium which Mr. *Mattaire*, to whom we are beholden for the firſt account of it, about *eight* years ago, gives to that maſter-piece of the Art, ſince which I ſaw it at the Earl of *Pembroke*'s. What ſeems ſtrange in that Printer, is, that from the time of this date 1461 to 1471, not one of his impreſſions is to be met with; ſo that neither their beauty, nor the eſteem which they merited among the curi-

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ous, have been able to preſerve them, unleſs they are ſtill latent in ſome libraries, 'till ſome accident brings them to light, as happen'd to the *Decor Puellarum*. 'Tis unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that a man, who could, in ſo ſhort a time improve the Art, to a degree equal to the beſt Printers of the next age, and publiſh'd ſo many excellent volumes from 1470 to 1480, ſhould have continued idle for *nine* or *ten* years.

For this reaſon many learned perſons are of opinion that the date of the book is wrong printed, and that one of the X's was either careleſsly or wilfully omitted, or taken up by the balls: but Mr. *Mattaire* will by no means allow this ſuppoſition, and gives his reaſons againſt it. But tho' I am partly of his opinion, yet there are two reaſons that induce me to differ from father *Orlandi*, in allowing the preference to *Venice* before theſe laſt mention'd cities: the firſt is that this impreſſion of the *Decor Puellarum*, doth not mention the place where it was done, and therefore might as well have been printed in any other place as at *Venice*; our annaliſts give no other reaſon for its being done there rather than any where elſe, but that *Jenſon* is found, ten years after the date of it, flouriſhing in that city for the ſpace of another ten years; but how to fill the chaſm of the firſt ten is what they are at a great loſs, as we ſhall ſee by and by. My ſecond reaſon is that had this book been really printed at *Venice*, *ann.* 1461, it would have been abſurd for the two *Spires*, who did not ſettle there till about *ann.* 1468, to have taken upon them in their firſt colophons the title of the firſt perſons who taught the city of *Venice* the art of printing, or if they had, I doubt not but *Jenſon* would have taken care to have confuted ſuch an aſſumption in ſome of his own works, which he never did: allowing therefore the date of this work to be genuine, yet it would be too preſumptive to build the claim of that city upon a book, which for ought appears was not printed there.

I have ventur'd to ſay ſo much concerning this impreſſion, in this introduction, becauſe of its being dated one year before the time our ſecond book begins; ſo that it could not ſo properly be brought into the book itſelf, without antedating of it by that one year for the ſake of one impreſſion. Before Mr *Mattaire* gave us an account of it in his *Annal. Typogr.* moſt authors gave the city of *Rome* the preference, to that of *Venice* by at leaſt 4 or 5 years; and with reſpect to the latter the two

Spires were allow'd to have been the firſt Printers there, according to the verſes that are at the end of their firſt works: this impreſſion therefore, doth at moſt prove *Jenſon* to have began to print ſome where, before thoſe two brothers were ſettled at *Venice*. What diſcoveries may be made hereafter, which may perhaps invert the preſent order, is what I am not concern'd about at preſent: my buſineſs is to ſettle it now according to the beſt light I have been able to get. I hope the reader will excuſe me, if the reſpect which I bear to thoſe noble cities, who gave the firſt encouragement to this infant Art, hath made me ſomewhat prolix, and what he may perhaps call over curious in ſettling this point of precedency; for ſince it may be ſo eaſily ſettled and adjuſted from authentic records, it would have been an unpardonable omiſſion in me to have neglected it; ſeeing every one of thoſe cities do ſtill value themſelves upon their rank, and have taken all poſſible pains to find out all the old monuments that would both ſupport and advance their reſpective claims.

I know that ſome annaliſts, in order to fill up the chaſm of *nine* years, have ſuppos'd that *Jenſon* went from *Venice* to *Paris*, where he taught the Art of Printing, and ſet up ſome preſſes, and inſtructed ſeveral, who became eminent Printers. But this is improbable on many accounts; 1. Becauſe there are none of his works done at *Paris*; 2. Becauſe his character is much finer than any us'd in *France* by the firſt Printers there; 3. Becauſe he would have met with ſuch encouragement there, eſpecially conſidering it was his native country, that there had been no occaſion to return to *Venice*; *laſtly*, becauſe, if he had taught ſo many ſkilful workmen in the Art, of which himſelf was then by far the greateſt maſter, it would have been unneceſſary to ſend for the three partners out of *Germany*, who did not however come to that city 'till about the year 1469, that is, *ſix* or *ſeven* years after his ſuppos'd coming thither. To this we may add, that upon this ſuppoſition the Art muſt have been brought to *Paris*, ſeveral years ſooner than the moſt authentick records, and the beſt writers allow, which ſeems as improbable; as it is difficult to aſſign a place where *Jenſon* printed this work. From all which, allowing the date of the *Decor Puellarum*, as no place is mention'd where it

was

was printed, we are oblig'd for the reaſons before mention'd to give the preference to *Rome*.

CHAP. I.

The City of *Mentz*, Monaſtery of *Subiaco*, and the City of *Ausburgh*.

§. 1. Fauſt *and* Schoeffer *continue to print at* Mentz, *after the Diſperſion of moſt of their Servants, and the taking of that City.*

IF thoſe cities which gave the earlieſt invitations and encouragements to the Art of Printing, do ſo juſtly merit to be recorded in their reſpective ranks, that of *Mentz* certainly deſerves to be placed at the head of them, upon two accounts; 1. becauſe it was the mother and inventreſs of it; and 2. becauſe it ſtill continued to promote and cheriſh it, after it had been reduc'd to a foreign yoke. In the firſt book we conſider'd her in the former view, whilſt ſhe was the only one in the world, that engroſs'd both the Art and Artiſts to herſelf: but the conqueror's ſword was the occaſion of its being diſpers'd through the moſt eminent cities of *Europe*: 'till this time the beſt of *Fauſt's* ſervants being tyed by an oath of ſecrecy, and perhaps by ſome more powerful engagement, had not dar'd to forſake their maſter; and if ſome few had ventur'd to break through their engagements, yet were they ſtill ſo imperfectly acquainted with the Art, that they never perform'd any work that could abide the teſt of time, if we except *N. Jenſon*'s: but now as the city was depriv'd of its freedom and privileges, it aboliſh'd the difference between maſter and ſervant, citizen and foreigner; they began to look upon themſelves as free from all former ties, and at liberty to accept of the invitations which they receiv'd from *England*, *Italy*, *France*, &c. ſo that in the ſpace of very few years, there was ſcarce a metropolis or conſiderable city, where there was not one or more Printing-houſes ſet up: ſeveral monaſteries likewiſe began to entertain thoſe fugitives very early, as we ſhall ſhow anon; and wherever any of thoſe workmen chanc'd to ſettle themſelves, they did not fail of meeting

with all the aſſiſtance and encouragement, which the moſt eminent men either for power or learning could give them. However as they cannot be ſuppos'd to have been all men of equal capacity and induſtry, ſo we need not wonder if they did not ſignalize themſelves every where alike; but whilſt one ſort of them did in a ſhort ſpace improve the Art to a very conſiderable degree, others of a more ſluggiſh nature, contented themſelves with going on in their old way, and ſome of them even from bad to worſe.

We need not doubt but that *Fauſt* and *Schoeffer*, during this ſad interval, were as much courted by other nations to leave *Mentz*, and betake themſelves to a place of greater tranquillity, and in a more flouriſhing ſtate: but their love to their native city, which had favour'd them ſo much in its proſperity, prevail'd upon them to continue there, and to carry on their buſineſs, as before. This is apparent from the liſt of their works, given in the firſt book; and the edition of the great *Bible* which they printed in this very year, with that of *Tully*'s *Offices three* years after, gives ground to ſuppoſe, that the merit of this invention procur'd them ſome particular regard and privilege from Archbiſhop *Adolph*, as ſoon as it became known to him; which might induce them to go on with the buſineſs, as they had done formerly: however if they printed nothing between the year 1462 and 1465, (as we don't as yet find that they did) we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the confuſion in which the city then was, might obſtruct it for that time, ſince we don't find ſuch a length of time between any of their other works: the truth is, we have very few or no particulars concerning them, except what we have given in the firſt book, wherein I endeavour'd as well as I could to trace *Fauſt*'s hiſtory to the end of his life. All that we can add concerning *Peter Schoeffer*, is, that he continued printing ſeveral conſiderable volumes 'till the year 1479, which he then ſubſcrib'd with his own name, and to ſome of which (towards the latter end of his life) he added his coat of arms, which might in all probability have been given to him either by the Archbiſhop or ſome crown'd head: accordingly we find theſe words added to his colophons, *Suis conſignando ſcutis*, that they were mark'd with his own arms. He left a ſon *John Schoeffer*, who became likewiſe an excellent Printer at *Mentz*; but he muſt in all likelihood have been very young

young when his father dy'd, ſeeing we find nothing printed by him 'till *ann.* 1503, when he acquainted his readers in the colophons to his firſt impreſſions, that he was the ſon of *Peter Schoeffer* and grandſon to *J. Fauſt*, *&c.* the firſt inventors of the Art; and that himſelf was an excellent maſter of it, and an eminent citizen (*primarius civis*) of the metropolis of *Mentz*, but as this is beyond my propos'd epocha, I ſhall ſay no more of him.

I don't find any other Printer in the city of *Mentz*, during *Peter Schoeffer*'s life: about 1480, we meet with one ſingle work of no great conſequence done there by one *Erhard Rewick*, and between the year 1470 and 1500, there are about *fifteen* impreſſions printed there without any Printer's name; and therefore are ſuppos'd to have been done by ſome of *Fauſt*'s ſervants, who dared not put their names to them, whilſt *Schoeffer* and his ſon liv'd.

THO' I do not deſign to ſwell the following book with a liſt of the works done in every city, it having been done by the indefatigable Mr. *Mattaire* and father *Orlandi*, but only to give my readers an account of the moſt eminent Printers, that have ſignaliz'd themſelves in any of them, with the names and dates of the leſs conſiderable ones; yet I hope the reader will forgive me, if my reſpect for *P. Schoeffer*, whoſe works are ſo much valued by the curious, as well for their antiquity, as for their elegance, correctneſs, and thoſe ornaments, which he ſtill caus'd the illuminators to beſtow on them to the laſt, induces me to ſubjoin a liſt of them; they are as follows, with their colophons.

1. The edition of *Tho. Aquinas*'s *Secunda ſecundæ*, printed in *fol. ann.* 1467; with an inſcription at the end to this purpoſe [1]; „ This noble „ work intitled *Secunda ſecundæ* was finiſh'd in the famous city of *Mentz* „ in *Germany* (which nation the divine goodneſs hath vouchſaf'd to ſig- „ nalize with ſuperior gifts to all other nations of the earth,) by a new „ invented Art of Printing, *&c.* without the help of any writing inſtru- „ ment, *&c.* for the ſervice of God, by *Peter Schoiffer de Gernſheim*,

[1] Hoc opus præclarum *Secunda ſecundæ* alma in Urbe *Moguntina* inclitæ nationis *Germanicæ*, quam Dei clementia alti ingenii lumine donoque gratuito cæteris terrarum nationibus præferre illuſtrareque dignatus eſt, artificioſa quadam adinventione imprimendi ſeu characterizandi abſque ulla calami exaratione ſic effigiatum, & ad euſebiam Dei induſtria eſt conſummatum per *Petrum Schoiffer de Gernſhim* Anno Domini MCCCCLXVII. Die ſexto menſis *Martii*.

„ *ann*

„ *ann. Dom.* 1467, on the *ſixth* day of *March.* „ In this he hath alter'd one letter of his ſirname, *viz.* the firſt *e* into an *i*, in the next he chang'd the *i* into a *y*, according to Mr. *Mattaire*'s liſt; who likewiſe juſtly cenſures his *latin ſyntax* in writing *Dei clementia dignatus eſt*; tho' this hinders not his being a correct Printer, as well as tolerable good clerk for thoſe times.

2. The next is the *Inſtitutiones Juris Imper. Juſtinian. cum Gloſſa*, in *fol.* ann. 1468. The colophon is much to the ſame purpoſe with the former, in which he is very liberal of his incenſe to *Mentz* and the whole *German* nation. It is ſuperfluous to give a tranſlation of it; but the original may be ſeen in the margin[1]; tho' *Schoeffer's* inſcriptions in the following impreſſions are ſomewhat ſhorter, yet we ſhall likewiſe take the liberty of abridging them to avoid repetition.

3. St *Jerom*'s *Epiſtles* with an introduction in 2 *vol. fol.* printed upon vellum *ann.* 1470. In this he ſtyles himſelf that famous perſon *Peter Schoiffer*[2], the colophon of it has been given in another place; and this is the book, part of the price of which, as we ſaid before, was remitted by him to the monks of St *Victor*, in order to procure their prayers for *Fauſt* and himſelf. Cardinal *Briſſonet*, abbot of St *Germain* in the fields near *Paris*, gave another copy of it to the library of that monaſtery; and a *third* was preſented by *Arthur de Montauban* archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* to the library of the *Celeſtins* at *Paris*, of which order he had been formerly. Theſe are all ſtill extant in the libraries abovemention'd.

4. Valerii Maximi *dictorum factorumque memorabilium libri* X. in *fol. ann.* 1471, in the noble city of *Mentz* upon the *Rhine* by *Peter Schoeffer de Gernſheim*, maſter of the Art of Printing[3].

[1] Præſens Inſtitutionum præclarum opus alma in urbe *Moguntina* inclitæ nationis *Germanicæ*; quam Dei clementia tam alti ingenii lumine donoque gratuito cæteris orbis nationibus præferre illuſtrareque dignatus eſt; non atramento omni, non plumali canna neque ærea, ſed artificioſa quadam ad inventione imprimendi ſeu characterizandi ſic effigiatum, & ad euſebiam Dei induſtrie eſt conſummatum per *Petrum Schoyffer de Gernſheim*, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis MCCCCLXVIII. 24 die Menſis *Maii*.

[2] Epiſtolare beati *Ieronymi* cum introductorio per *virum famatum in hac Arte Petrum Schoiffer*, &c. At the end of the introduction are theſe two verſes addreſs'd to the Saint;

Nunc memoris memor eſto tui, Ieronyme, *ſancte*,
Ne pereat, Chriſto veniam pro crimine dante.

At the end of the book are the ſix verſes quoted before at *pag.* 33, which begin thus;

Jam decet ut noſtris concordent, &c.

[3] In nobili urbe *Moguntina Rheni* —— per *Petrum Schoeffer de Gernſheim* artis impreſſoriæ magiſtrum, viii *Cal. Jul.*

5. The

5. THE *Latin bible* reprinted *ann.* 1472 by *Peter Schoeffer* with the ſame colophon as the former *Bible* of 1462. It was finiſh'd on the eve of St. *Matthew* the apoſtle.

6. THE *Corpus Canonicum* without the Printer's name, *ann.* 1472, *fol.* THE *Catholicon* reprinted *ann.* 1472 with the ſame colophon as the former; and finiſh'd on St. *Matthew*'s eve. Theſe three laſt being finiſh'd about the ſame time, ſhow that *Schoeffer* had already more than one preſs at work.

7. ST. *Auſtin*'s book *De civitate Dei* in *fol.* with the commentaries of *Thomas de Valois* and *Nicholas Thevet*, printed *ann.* 1473, at the end whereof are the following words in *latin*, [1] *viz.*, This moſt excellent work of „ *the city of God* written by *Aurelius Auguſtine*, the bright ſtar of the or- „ thodox city, with the commentaries of two learned profeſſors of divi- „ nity, diſtinguiſh'd with rubricks and a *table* of *contents*, was with great „ labour finiſh'd in the famous city of *Mentz* in *Germany*, not with a „ writing inſtrument, but by an artificial diſpoſition of the figures of let- „ ters, to the glory of the undivided trinity, and by the aid of the city „ of God, by *Peter Schoiffer de Gernſheim*, on the *fifth* day of *September*, „ 1473.

8. HENRICI HARP or *Harpian. Ord. Min. Fr. Speculum aureum decem præceptorum Dei*, by *Peter Schoiffer*, &c. in *fol.* The colophon is almoſt the ſame with that of the *Secunda* of *Tho. Aquinas*. It was finiſh'd on the *fourth* of the ides of *September ann.* 1474.

9. S. BERNARDI *Clarevallenſis Abbatis ſermones*, fol. *ann.* 1475[2]. Here *Schoeffer* began to put his mark, rebus, or coat of arms to his impreſſions.

10. JUSTINIANI *Inſtitutiones cum notis Accurſii*, fol. *ann.* 1476, *Schoeffer* dedicated this work to Pope *Sixtus* IV, to the Emperor *Frederic*, and to the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* [3].

[1] Igitur *Aurelii Auguſtini*, civitatis orthodoxæ ſideris præfulgidi, *de civitate Dei* opus præclariſſimum, binis ſacræ paginæ profeſſoribus eximiis id commentantibus, rubricis tabulaque diſcretum, celſa in urbe *Moguntina* partium *Alemaniæ*, non calami per phraſim, characterum autem apicibus artificioſe elementatum, ad laudem *Trinitatis individuæ*, *civitatis Dei præſidio*, operoſe eſt conſummatum per *Petrum Schoiffer de Gernſheim* die V menſis *September* CIↃCCCCLXXIII.

[2] In nobili urbe *Moguntina Petrus Schoyffer de Gernſheim* ſuis conſignando ſcutis conſummavit, die xiv *April.* MCCCCLXXV.

[3] Sanctiſſ. in *Chriſto* P. ac Dom. D. *Sixto* Pap. IV. invictiſſimo Dom. D. *Frederico* Roman. Imperat. ſemper *Auguſt.* generoſo Dom. *Diethero de Iſemburg* electo & confirmato *Mo-*

11. De-

11. DECISIONES *Rotæ Romanæ*, in *fol. ann.* 1477. The original of the colophon may be ſeen in the margin [1].

12. JOHAN. *de Turre-cremata ord. prædic. Card.* expoſition of the *pſalms*, in *fol.* by *Peter Schoiffer* at *Mentz*, 1478.

13. PAUL. *de S. Maria* Biſhop of *Burgos*'s *Scrutinium ſcripturarum*, *fol. ann.* 1478. This work is inſcrib'd to the ſame Archbiſhop of *Mentz* [2].

14. THE book of *Decretals* in *fol.* at *Mentz* by *P. Schoiffer*, 1479.

THIS is the laſt book that is known to have been printed by him, who is therefore ſuppos'd to have dy'd about this time.

WE have now done with the city of *Mentz*; whoſe fame in this reſpect ſeems to have been intirely confin'd to *Fauſt*'s family, and that no further than to his grandſon *John Schoeffer*; ſeeing nothing conſiderable was ever printed there by any other perſon, except the travels of *Bernard Bredembach* Dean of *Mentz*, into the *Holy-land ann.* 1486, by one *Erhard Rewick* a native of *Utrecht*, whom we have juſt mention'd. 'Tis now time to come to thoſe places, which ſhow'd the earlieſt ſpecimens of this Art; and to give the beſt account we have of them.

§. 2. *The* MONASTERY *of SUBIACO.*

THE next place, that we know of, which ſignaliz'd it ſelf in the Art of Printing, is the monaſtery of *Subiaco*, in *latin Monaſterium Sublacenſe*, in the territories of *Campania*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, and ſubject to the Pope; the monks of which are of the *Benedictin* order, and very rich, having the lordſhip of no leſs than fourteen caſtles. Here the Art was introduc'd ſo ſoon, that in the year 1465, there was publiſh'd an edition of *Lactantius*'s *Inſtitutions* in *fol.* ſo correct and elegant, and in ſuch a beautiful *Roman* character, that nothing ſeems wanting but the

guntino in nobili urbe *Moguntia Rheni* impreſſoriæ artis inventrice elimatriceque prima, præſens Inſtitutionum opus præclarum *Pet. Schoeffer de Gernſhiem* ſuis conſignan[illegible]o ſcutis, omnipotente favente Deo, conſummavit. 10 kal. *Jun.* MCCCC LXXVI.

[1] Gravi labore, maximiſque impenſis, *Romanam* poſt impreſſionem, opus iterum emendatum antiquarum novarumque deciſionum ſuis cum additionibus Dominorum de *Rota*, in civitate *Moguntia* artis impreſſoriæ inventrice & elimatrice prima, *Petrus Schoiffer de Gernſheim* ſuis conſignando ſcutis a te magiſtra feliciter finivit, prid. Non *Jan.* MCCCCLXXVII.

[2] R in Chriſto *Pat.* D D. *Dithero* Archipræſule *Moguntino*, in nobili civitate *Moguntia*, domicilio *Minervæ* firmiſſimo, *Petrus Schoeffer de Gernſheim* arte magiſtra ſuis conſignando ſcutis feliciter finivit, ad VI[illegible] Idus *Januarias*. MCCCCLXXVIII.

name

name of the Printer. What is ſtill more ſurprizing is, that *Lactantius*'s quotations from the *Greek* authors are printed in a very neat *Greek* letter, and extremely like that which the firſt Printers of *Rome*, *Conrard Sweynheym* and *Arnold Pannartz*, became noted for. This induc'd father *Orlandi* to think it was one of the firſt eſſays, which thoſe two *Germans* made in that convent, before they went to *Rome*; but this can by no means be allow'd, becauſe tho' the character be like theirs, yet it appears by the *eight* firſt impreſſions, which they printed at *Rome*; that they had no *Greek* alphabet 'till *four* or *five* years after the date of this impreſſion, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter: the following colophon is at the end of it.

In the year of our Lord MCCCCLXV, *and the ſecond year of the pontificate of Pope* Paul II. *in the* XIII *indiction, and on the laſt day but one of the month of* October, *in the venerable monaſtery of* Subiaco.

THIS ſcarce and curious edition is mention'd by *Montfaucon* in his *Diarium Italicum* p. 255, *&* *ſeq.* who hath given it an earlier date, *viz.* 1461; but the miſtake ariſes from the laſt figure's being imperfectly printed. We know nothing of any other impreſſion, which came from that Monaſtery's preſs.

§. 3. *The* CITY *of AUSBURGH.*

THE next is the city of *Ausburgh* [in *latin Auguſta*,] one of the moſt opulent of the imperial cities in *Germany*; in which the learned *John Bemler* ſet up a Printing-preſs, about the year 1466. The only two books, that are known to be printed by him, are the *Latin Bible* in *fol.* with this inſcription — *Per* Joh. Bemler, *Auguſtæ Vindelic. ann.* 1466; and his *tranſlation of* Joh. Nach's *ſumma præcipuorum capitum fidei chriſtianæ*, out of *Latin* into *high Dutch*, printed *ann.* 1472. Whether he printed any books during that ſix years interval, or was employed wholly in tranſlating this laſt work, is difficult to determine, as well as whether he publiſh'd any thing after 1472. However there were *five* other eminent perſons in that city, who, tho' they did not begin ſo ſoon as he, yet prin-

ted divers learned works; moſt of them, being either citizens or natives of *Ausburgh*, might in all probability learn the Art from him.

As we have little or nothing particular concerning them except their impreſſions, we ſhall content our ſelves with giving their names, character, and the time in which they printed, as far as we can diſcover it by their known works.

After the above nam'd *John Bemler* came.

2. John Shusler citizen of *Ausburgh*, a very good Printer, but whoſe works reach only from *ann.* 1471 to 1472.

3. Gonter Zainer *de Reutlingen*, who printed from *ann.* 1471 to 1484, we have but *eight* of his impreſſions.

4. Ant. Sorgius citizen of *Ausburgh* from 1477 to 1487, we have but *four* of his editions.

5. Erhard Raldolt of *Ausburgh*, who after having printed ſome works at *Venice*, with his partner *Bernard Pictor*, 'till the year 1485 or beyond, return'd to his own native city, and there ſet up a preſs about or before the year 1488, and continu'd printing 'till 1490, if not beyond: however he was a very diligent Printer for thoſe times, ſeeing he printed in that ſhort ſpace *ſeven* books in *latin*.

6. The *laſt* we find in this city, is *John Schenſperger*, who printed a chronical work in *Latin*, with cutts *fol. ann.* 1497; but whether any beſides that, is not as yet known.

We find likewiſe two or three *Dutch* books printed here without Printer's name, and of no great conſequence.

CHAP. II.

1. *The firſt* Printers *at* Rome; *their Patrons and Correctors*; *Books printed by them*, &c. *their Petition to the* Pope. 2. *The City of* Tours, 1467. 3. *The Town of* Reutlingen, 1469.

Soon after *Ausburgh* had receiv'd the Art of Printing, it was brought to *Rome* by two Germans, *Conrard Sweynheim* and *Arnold Pannarts*; who ſet up a printing-houſe there *anno* 1466, the ſecond year of

of the pontificate of *Paul* II. under the patronage of *John Andreas* Biſhop of *Aleria*, who was the Popes library-keeper, juſtly fam'd for his learning and generoſity. Theſe printers aſſiſted with that prelates purſe, did immediately prepare an elegant, round, *Roman* character, and a ſufficient quantity of the fineſt paper; they invented likewiſe ſuch variety of ſpaces, as kept a beautiful diſtance between the words, and made their impreſſions appear with the greateſt neatneſs and exactneſs. Their margins were broad, and not only added a grace to the pages, but rendered them likewiſe convenient for the writing of notes, *&c.* and their ink was ſo excellent, that it ſtill looks as freſh as if newly printed. In ſhort, they were perſons who valu'd their credit, and the honour of pleaſing their patron more than riches; and ſpar'd neither coſt nor labour, in order to make their impreſſions as beautiful and correct, as poſſible; which any one that has ſeen them, will own with pleaſure.

I doubt not but the great acquaintance amongſt the learned, which their noble patron's friendſhip procur'd them, might be a great means of their improving the art to ſuch a degree; ſeeing ſuch perſons were beſt able to diſcover the faults and inconveniences of the firſt printed books, which theſe *Germans* might more eaſily rectify when they became acquainted with them. Theſe two partners ſettled themſelves in the houſe of *Peter* and *Francis de Maximis*, brothers and Roman knights; where the Biſhop of *Aleria* not only furniſh'd them with the moſt valuable manuſcripts, out of the *Vatican* and other libraries, but alſo prepar'd them himſelf, corrected their proofs, and prefix'd prefaces and dedications to their works, in order to recommend them the more to the learned world. This laborious taſk was follow'd by him with ſuch application, that he ſcarce allow'd himſelf time to ſleep. What a value this great Biſhop had both for the art and theſe two great maſters of it, appears from his dedication to Pope *Paul* II. prefix'd to the edition of St. *Jerom*'s *Epiſtles*, which I ſhall now give the *Engliſh* reader a tranſlation of. „ It was, ſays he, in your days, that among many other divine „ favours this bleſſing was beſtow'd on the Chriſtian world, that every „ poor ſcholar can purchaſe for himſelf a library for a ſmall ſum,—— „ that thoſe volumes, which heretofore could ſcarce be bought for an „ hundred crowns, may now be procur'd for leſs than twenty, very well

 „ printed

„ printed, and free from thoſe faults with which manuſcripts us'd to „ abound. —— for ſuch is the art of our printers and letter-makers, „ that no antient or modern diſcovery is comparable to it. Surely the „ *German* nation deſerves our higheſt eſteem, for the invention of the moſt „ uſeful arts. The wiſh of the noble and divine Cardinal *Cuſa*, is now — „ in your time accompliſh'd, who earneſtly deſir'd that this ſacred art, „ which then ſeem'd riſing in *Germany*, might be brought to *Rome*. „ Your Pontificate, (glorious in every reſpect,) will be as immortal as „ learning it ſelf. In which this art was brought and laid at your Holi- „ neſs's feet. —It is my chief aim in this epiſtle to let poſterity know, „ that the art of printing and type-making was brought to *Rome* under „ *Paul* II. This bleſſing was certainly confer'd on us by our heavenly „ Shepherd, that a book is now purchas'd for leſs than a binding for- „ merly. Receive then, great, generous and glorious Pontif, the firſt „ volume of St. *Jerom*, graciouſly, — and take the excellent maſters of „ this art, *Conrard Sweynheym* and *Arnold Pannarts*, *Germans*, under „ your protection, *&c.*

THUS were theſe two printers careſs'd and encourag'd by moſt of the men of letters and fortune at *Rome*, and even by the Pope himſelf, who frequently viſited their Printing-houſe, and examin'd with admiration every branch of this new art; which ſeem'd deſign'd to recover learning, and reſtore that city to its antient luſtre. This excited them to approve themſelves worthy of all that eſteem, which was ſhew'd them, by publiſhing a vaſt number of elegant impreſſions, ſome of which were ſo large that they could not be done without great labor and charges, as will be evident from the liſt of their works, which they preſented to the Pope, of which we ſhall give an account in its proper place.

WHAT their firſt impreſſion was, whether *Cicero*'s *Familiar Epiſtles*, or St. *Auſtin*'s book *de Civitate Dei*, is what authors can by no means agree about; that the former was printed at *Rome ann.* 1467, with a latin epigram, at the end of which their names are at full length; and on the following year, a new edition of St. *Auſtin*'s book[1] is plain beyond contra-

[1] Anno igitur eodem 1468, opus *Auguſtini de Civitate Dei* eruditiſſimum; *Epiſtolas Hieronymi* diſertiſſimas, cum luminibus orationis tum viribus argumentorum inſtructas vulgaverunt. —— Anno ſuperiore *Tullianas* dederant *Epiſtolas*, hoc dant *Hieronymianas*, &c. *Annal. Typograph.* p. 44.

diction:

diction: the diſpute therefore ſeems to be about an edition of it, older by a year; in which the Printer, without either naming himſelf, or the place in which it was done, contents himſelf with this colophon in *latin*, MCCCCLXVII, *in the third year of Pope* Paul II, *&c.* from which laſt words, and the likeneſs of the character with the *Lactantius* printed at *Subiaco*, and their firſt impreſſions at *Rome*; they venture to affirm it to have been printed by them, without deciding whether at *Rome* or any where elſe. *Orlandi*, the laſt writer upon the ſubject, ſpeaks of it as follows, *p.* 67[1]. „ It is certain that the firſt work, that came out of their preſs has „ been univerſally believ'd by authors to be St. *Auſtin*'s book *de civitate* „ *Dei*; and tho' it mentions neither the name of the place or of the „ Printer, yet being printed in a round Roman character, and in the „ *third* year of *Paul* II. *ann.* 1467, as may be ſeen at the end of the ſaid „ book; „ it cannot but have been done by them; but I think I have two material objections againſt it: the *firſt* is, that if they had printed it at *Rome*, they would not have omitted it in their liſt to the Pope; and if at *Subiaco* or any where elſe, I cannot ſee how they could print the *Cicero* at *Rome* in the ſame year. *Secondly*, tho' the likeneſs of the character ſeems to carry ſome proof, and inclin'd him to believe the edition of *Subiaco* to have been alſo done by them; yet it is evident by what we hinted in the introduction, that they were ſo far from being furniſh'd with a *Greek* alphabet, that their firſt works have all the *greek* done upon wood in a very inelegant manner; and that whenever the quotation was above *three* or *four* words, they left a blank ſpace to be fill'd afterwards with the pen; whereas this of *Lactantius* has all the *greek* quotations printed in a beautiful caſt letter: and therefore tho' we may allow this edition and that diſputed one of St. *Auſtin*'s, to have been done by the ſame hand, yet it is plain it could not be done by thoſe two *Germans*. If we can believe them, they'll tell us, that they began their firſt tryal with a leſs conſiderable work, *viz. Donatus*'s *grammar*, of which they printed only 300 copies: this is plain, both by their putting it at the head of their liſt, and

[1] Egli è ancora certiſſimo che il primo Libro, il quale uſci dalle ſtampe di *Roma*, e ſempre ſtato creduto dagli autori il Sant. *Agoſtino de civitate Dei* il quale ſe bene non addita il luogo, ove ſtampato, ne il nome degl' Impreſſori, tutta volta e di carettere tondo *Romano*, ſtampato nel anno terzo di papa *Paolo* II, e nel milleſimo 1467, come ſi legge in detto libro. *Orleand. origin. della Stamp.* pag. 67.

by

by their prefacing it with the words — *unde imprimendi initium ſumpſimus*, after which they went on with[1] *Cicero's Epiſtles*, and the reſt of their works without mentioning any edition of St. *Auſtin*'s before the year 1468: the epigram which we mention'd before, to be at the end of both theſe editions is as follows,

Hoc Conradus *opus* Sweynheim *ordine miro*
Arnolduſque *ſimul* Pannartz *una æde colendi*
Gente Theotonica Romæ *expediere ſodales*
In domo Petri de Maximis.

I have already hinted their method of managing the *Greek* quotations, which they follow'd in the firſt volumes they printed, that is 'till the middle of the year 1469: perhaps were they forc'd to it for want of workmen to cut the *Greek* alphabet; but at length, notwithſtanding the neglect of that tongue might have excus'd them from the labour and expence of procuring ſetts of punches and matrices for Printing in that language, and the difficulty of finding workmen fit for ſuch a task, they ſurmounted every obſtacle of this nature, and form'd a compleat *Greek* alphabet, which they us'd in the edition of *Aulus Gellius*. Concerning this edition the Biſhop of *Aleria* ſpeaks thus; „ However, this prov'd a very arduous taſk at firſt; —— for a great part of the *Latin* was corrupted thro' „ the negligence of the tranſcribers; and a much greater part of the „ *Greek* deprav'd, maim'd, and mutilated. Even that, which remain'd „ entire, was ſcarce underſtood by *Latin* ſcholars, by reaſon of their ignorance in *Greek*. Some attempts have been made by perſons ſkill'd „ in both tongues, to reſtore this jewell to its former luſtre; but they, „ either diſcourag'd by the difficulty, or diverted by other affairs, deſiſted from the undertaking. „ Thus writes that learned prelate, who by the aſſiſtance of *Theodore Gaza*, a man of great abilities and univerſal learning, perform'd this admirable work, rectify'd the *Latin* text, and render'd the *Greek* intelligible. This edition was printed *ann.* 1469 in a fine character, with the arguments to each book done in red by the illu-

[1] Concerning theſe two editions the letter on which they were printed, gave names to two ſizes of *Printing-letter*; *viz.* from *Cicero*'s Epiſtles, that ſiz'd Letter has been call'd *Cicero* ever ſince in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, and anſwers to our *Pica*; *Holland* alone calls it *Mediaan*: the other is from St. *Auſtin*'s book, which is call'd *Auguſtin* in ſeveral parts of *Europe*, but with us *Engliſh*; but this I ſhall treat of more largely in the ſecond volume.

minators.

minators. The quotations, which are long and more frequent, than in any other author, are printed in a fair *Greek* character, conſidering this kind of printing was but in its infancy; and what is extremely remarkable, they were ſo correctly printed, that, as we are aſſur'd by Mr. *Mattaire*, in two whole pages, which contain'd ſeventy ſix lines of a conſiderable length, there were but *fourteen* faults of impreſſion. The place, mention'd by that author, may be ſeen in *pag.* 46 of his *Annales Typogr.* where he has ſet down thoſe places, which were wrong printed, in order to convince the world, by the ſmallneſs of their number, of the accuracy and diligence of thoſe two Printers.

He tells us likewiſe that their *Greek* character was ſomewhat large, round and even, without accents, ligatures, abbreviations, or any thing that might perplex the reader, except only that ſometimes two or more words were join'd together without any ſpace between them; and that the periods had either no full ſtop, or one in the wrong place; ſo that a perſon, not us'd to MSS. was doubtful where the ſenſe ended. To this edition was prefix'd a dedicatory Epiſtle of the Biſhop of *Aleria* to the Pope, wherein he acknowledges the kindneſs of his Holineſs and the Cardinal of *Oſtia*, in ſupplying him with money in his greateſt exigencies; and promiſes to proceed with the utmoſt induſtry in furniſhing the learned world with new productions from the preſs. At the end of the book is a copy of verſes, ſuppos'd to be written by the ſame prelate, in praiſe of that edition, which are elegant for thoſe times, the reader may find them at length in Mr. *Mattaire's Annals* p. 47. I ſhall only give a *latin* octaſtich, which was printed at the end of ſeveral of their impreſſions, in commendation of the printers; wherein the poet apologizes for the harſhneſs of their *German* names, offenſive without doubt to an *Italian* ear. They are inſerted particularly in the firſt edition of St. *Jerom's Epiſtles*, and the great work of *Nich. de Lyra* entitled *Gloſſa ordinaria in univerſam Bibliam*, 5 vol. *fol.* and in ſeveral others. The reader will find them in the margin [1]. Thus they continued printing without inter-

[1] Aſpicis illuſtres, lector, quicunque libellos,
Si cupis artificum nomina noſſe, lege.
Aſpera ridebis cognomina Teutona forſan:
Mitiget ars Muſis inſcia verba virum.
Conradus Sweynheim, Arnoldus, Pannartzque magiſtri.
Roma impreſſerunt talia multa ſimul,
Petrus cum fratre *Franciſco Maximus*, ambo
Huic operi aptatam contribuere domum.

miſſion

miſſion for ſeven years, whilſt their patron procur'd 'em all poſſible aſſiſtance, and overlook'd their impreſſions. This is manifeſt from the editions of *Tully*, St. *Jerom*, *Livy*, *Lucan*, the works of St. *Leo*, *Ovid*, *Nicholas de Lyra*, and eſpecially of *Pliny*, with many more; in which the Biſhop acquaints the world with the pains, taken by himſelf and his conſtant aſſiſtant *Theod. Gaza*, in correcting the originals, and preſiding over the editions [1]. For this reaſon Dr. *Mentel*, mention'd in our firſt book, affirms him to have been corrector of *Sweynheim's* preſs, and *Campanus* Biſhop of *Teramo*, who was *Ulric Han's* patron, to have perform'd the ſame office in his [2]. This is likewiſe aſſerted by *Naudé* in his ſupplement to the hiſtory of *Lewis* XI [3], and divers other writers. But it is queſtionable whether thoſe excellent perſons can properly be call'd correctors, or rather do not deſerve the title of authors or editors.

HOWEVER, there is an eminent paſſage in this Epiſtle of the Biſhop's before *Pliny's* works, which as it demonſtrates his care and diligence in his province, ought not to be omitted. „ It was, ſays he [4], the earneſt „ requeſt of *Ireneus* Bp. of *Lyons*; and of *Juſtin*, who of a philoſopher „ became a martyr, and likewiſe of St. *Jerom* and *Euſebius* of *Ceſarea*, to „ the lateſt poſterity, that thoſe, who were to tranſcribe their works, „ would diligently compare the copies of them, and carefully correct „ them: the ſame requeſt I make now, both with reſpect to other books, „ and in particular to *Pliny*, leſt that work, which coſt ſo much labour „ and ſtudy, (for he ſpent above nine whole years in it) ſhould again „ ſink into its former errors and inextricable darkneſs. „

[1] — Juvit mirifice vir ſummæ eruditionis ac ſapientiæ *Theodorus* meus *Gaza*, atque ita quidem, ut abſque illo nec, pene dixerim, mundus hoc munus fuerit impleturus. *Epiſt. Dedic. ad Pap* Paul. II. prefix'd to *Pliny*.

[2] *Joannes Andreas* præſul *Alerienſis*, qui in ipſorum libraria taberna ἐπανορθώτης eſſe non dedignatus eſt; ut nec *Campanus* in *Uldaric. Mentel. de vera Typograph. origin.* p. 11.

[3] *Rome* fut une des premieres ou la preſſe roula par le moyen d'un *Uldaricus Gallus*, qui dona ſujet a l'eveque *Jo. Campanus*, lequel ſe rendit correcteur de ſon imprimere de compoſer cette epigramme a ſa louange, que raporte Faernus. *Addit.* ad Hiſt. *Lud* XI, p. 297.

[4] *Irenæus Lugdunenſis* epiſcopus; item *Juſtinus* ex philoſopho martyr; item cum divo *Hieronymo Euſebius Cæſarienſis* ſeram poſteritatem adjurarunt, ut eorum deſcripturi opera conferrent diligenter exemplaria, ſolerti ſtudio emendarent: idem ego tum in cæteris libris, tum maxime in *Plinio* ut fiat, vehementer obſecro, obteſtor, atque adjuro, ne ad priora menda & tenebras inextricabiles tanti ſudoris opus relabatur.

HITHERTO

HITHERTO we have ſeen the flouriſhing ſtate of this preſs, which in the ſpace of ſix or ſeven years at moſt, *viz.* from *ann.* 1467 to 1472, oblig'd the world with no leſs than twelve thouſand four hundred and ſeventy five volumes, in eight and twenty editions, ſome of them very large, and all beautiful and correct; ſo that if their vaſt labours and coſt had met with ſuitable ſucceſs, they muſt have rais'd a prodigious eſtate. But, whatever be the cauſe, 'tis certain that the greateſt part of this library remain'd ſtill in their hands for want of buyers;-which reduc'd them to the moſt neceſſitous circumſtances. Father *Orlandi* endeavours to account for this ill-ſucceſs, by ſuppoſing that their impreſſions, being in Roman character, were diſlik'd in thoſe days, becauſe the learned had been ſo accuſtom'd to the old Gothick, as not to approve of this new, tho' preferable one. This conjecture ſeems the more probable upon two accounts; 1. Becauſe ſeveral eminent printers were oblig'd to comply with the taſt of the age, and uſe the old character, reſembling that of MSS. 2. Moſt of the firſt Printers of *Paris*, *Venice*, *Rome*, &c. who began with the Roman, were forc'd by degrees to reſume the old Gothick, which continu'd till almoſt the middle of the next century, and prov'd the ruin of many valuable impreſſions in divers parts of *Europe*. However that be, our two *Germans* under theſe preſſing exigencies had recourſe to their great patron, who immediately drew up a petition in their names and behalf to Pope *Xyſtus* IV, ſubjoin'd to the fifth volume of *Nich. de Lyra*'s *Gloſſ.* and preſented on the 20th of *March* 1472. In this he repreſents their great merit and miſery in the moſt pathetick terms imaginable; gives a catalogue of all the volumes printed by them, the greateſt part of which was ſtill unſold; prays his Holineſs to conſider their deplorable caſe; and declares their readineſs to deliver up the unſold books either to him, or to whomſoever he ſhould command, for their preſent ſubſiſtance. The Biſhop, to ſhew that he was ſenſibly touch'd with their misfortune, prefaceth the petition in his own name, and requeſts the Pope to hear the juſt complaint of his worthy and induſtrious Printers; and afterwards expoſes their circumſtances in their own words. As this curious piece has never yet, that I know of, been tranſlated into *Engliſh*; I preſume the reader will be pleas'd to ſee it, with the promis'd liſt of their works, both which they printed with the

works *N. de Lyra*; *Chevillier* tells us he ſaw it at the beginning of *Tome* 5. of that great work. It is as follows,

„ [1] Jo. Andr. to Xystus IV.

—„ Your Holineſs's humble petitioners *Conrard Sweynheim* and *Arnold* „ *Pannartz*, our printers and the firſt artificers, who practis'd this moſt

[1] Jo. And. *ad* Xyst. IV.
—— Ut digneris miſericorditer occurrere, ſervuli tuæ ſanctitatis *Conradus Sweynheim* & *Arnoldus Pannartz*, impreſſores noſtri ac utiliſſimæ hujus fictoriæ artis primi in *Italia* opifices implorant. — Vox impreſſorum ſub tanto chartarum faſce laborantium, &, niſi tua liberalitas opituletur, deficientium iſta eſt. —— Nos de *Germanis* primi, tanti commodi artem in *Romanam* curiam tuam multo ſudore & impenſa deceſſoris tui tempeſtate deveximus. Nos opifices librarios cæteros, ut idem auderent, noſtro exemplo incitavimus —— Indicem ſi perlegeris impreſſorum a nobis operum, miraberis —— vel chartas huic librorum copiæ potuiſſe vel lineamenta ſufficere —— Impreſſi ſunt noſtro ſtudio libri, qui in ſubjectis ſuo ordine tibi recenſebuntur.

1. Donatus pro puerulis, ut inde principium dicendi ſumamus, unde imprimendi initium ſumpſimus, —— *without date* ——		CCC.
2. Lactantii Firm. Inſtitutionum divinarum lib. vii. —— —— *Anno*	1468	DCCXXV.
3. M. Tull. Cicer. Epiſtolæ familiares —— —— ——	1467	DL.
4. M. T. Cicer. Epiſtolæ ad Atticum —— —— —— ——	1470	CCLXXV.
5. Roderic epiſcop Zamorenſis Speculum vitæ humanæ —— ——	1468	CCC.
6. D. Auguſt. de civitate Dei —— —— —— ——	1468	DCCCXXV.
7. D. Hieronymi epiſtolæ, vol. II —— —— —— ——	1468	MC.
8. M. T. Cicero de oratore cum cæteris, —— *without date* ——		DL.
9. M. T. Cicer. pars libelli de philoſophia —— —— ——	1471	DL.
10. L. Apuleius Platonicus cum Alcinoo —— —— ——	1469	CCLXXV.
11. Auli Gellii noctium Atticarum lib. —— —— —— ——	1469	CCLXXV.
12. C. Cæſaris Commentaria —— —— —— —— ——	1469	CCLXXV.
13. Divi Platonis defenſio, —— —— *without date* —— —— ——		CCC.
14. P. Virgil. Maron opera omnia, —— —— *without date* —— ——		DL.
15. T. Livius Patavinus cum Epitome decadum, —— *without date* ——		CCLXXV.
16. Strabonis Geographia, —— —— —— *without date* —— —— ——		CCLXXV.
17. M. Annæus Lucanus —— —— —— —— ——	1466	CCLXXV.
18. C. Plinii Veronenſ. Natur. hiſtor —— —— —— ——	1470	CCC.
19 C. Suetonius Tranquillus de xii Cæſar. —— —— —— ——	1470	CCLXXV.
20 Div. Leonis Pap. ſermones —— —— —— —— ——	1470	CCLXXV.
21. M. Fab Quintilian. Inſtitution. Oratoriar. —— —— —— ——	1470	CCLXXV.
22. D. Thom. Aquin. Continuum catenæ aureæ, —— *without date* ——		DL.
23. D. Cypriani Epiſtolæ —— —— —— —— —— —— ——	1471	CCLXXV.
24. Biblia cum Opuſculo Ariſteæ —— —— —— —— —— ——	1471	DL.
25. Silius Italicus cum Calphurnio & Heſiodo —— —— —— ——	1471	CCLXXV.
26. M. T. Orationes cum invectivis in Verrem, *&c.* —— —— ——	1471	CCLXXV.
27. P. Ovid. Naſon. opera omnia, 2 vol. —— —— —— —— ——	1471	DL.
28. Nichol. de Lyra. Gloſſa in tot. Bibl. 5 vol. —— —— —— 1471 —	1472	MC.

„ uſeful

„ uſeful invention in *Italy*, implore your aſſiſtance. —— This is the „ voice of thoſe printers, who labour under ſuch a load of printed vo- „ lumes, that they muſt ſink under it, unleſs timely reliev'd by you. „ —— We were the firſt of the *Germans*, who introduc'd this excellent „ art, with vaſt labour and coſt, into your territories, in the time of „ your predeceſſor; and encourag'd, by our example, other printers to „ do the ſame. If you peruſe the catalogue of the works printed by „ us, you will admire how and where we could procure a ſufficient „ quantity of paper, or even rags, for ſuch a number of volumes. —— „ The books, done by us, are ſubjoin'd in the following order. „

THE liſt of thoſe books conſiſting entirely of *Latin*, I have put them with the original of the petition in the margin, and have added the date of the year wherein each was printed, as far as it could be procur'd, there being none in the catalogue. The order of time is not obſerv'd, but only the number of copies of each. We may likewiſe infer what books were then moſt eſteem'd, not upon the account of their authors, but of their uſefulneſs, by the proportionate number printed of them. The petition thus proceeds.

„ THE total of theſe volumes amounts to twelve thouſand four hun- „ dred ſeventy five, a prodigious heap, and intolerable to us, your Holi- „ neſs's printers, by reaſon of thoſe unſold. — We are no longer able „ to bear the great expence of houſe-keeping for want of buyers; of „ which there cannot be a more flagrant proof, than that our houſe, „ otherwiſe ſpatious enough, is full of *Quire-books*, but void of every „ neceſſary of life: — we are ready, if your goodneſs ſhall judge it

Horum omnium voluminum ſumma — efficit codices duodecies mille quadringentos ſeptuaginta quinque; acervum quidem ingentem, & nobis impreſſoribus tuis: qua parte reſtat, intolerabilem —— ingens ſumptus ad victum neceſſarius, ceſſantibus emptoribus ferri amplius a nobis nequit; & ementes non eſſe nullum eſt gravius teſtimonium, quam quod domus noſtra ſatis magna plena eſt quinternionum, inanis rerum neceſſariarum -- parati ſumus pro clementiæ tuæ arbitrio de noſtra merce *i. e.* de impreſſis quinternionibus noſtris tibi tot tradere, quot volueris, & quibus volueris. —— Tua incredibilis manſuetudo ſubveniat nobis de aliquo officio, unde poſſimus nos & noſtros alere. Impenſa eſt facta in ſolius *Nicolai de Lyra* a nobis voluminibus tanta, ut amplius nihil nobis ſuperſit ad vivendum. Si venderemus opera noſtra, non ſolum a pietate tua nihil peteremus, ſed ultro in præſentium temporum articulo, in quo te plurimum egere non neſcimus, ipſi noſtra offerremus; faciemuſque quotiens tuo adjumento fortuna nobiſcum uſa eſſe videbitur fronte ſereniore Interea, Pater Sancte, adjuvent nos miſerationes tuæ, quia pauperes facti ſumus nimis —— xx *Martii* M CCCC LXXII, Pontificatus tui Clementiſſimi anno primo.

„ meet, to deliver up as much of our wares, *i. e.* printed ſheets, as you „ pleaſe, to your ſelf, or to whom you ſhall order. --We therefore be- „ ſeech your great Clemency to beſtow ſome place upon us, whereby „ we may be enabled to maintain our ſelves and families. The im- „ preſſion of *Nicol. de Lyra*'s works hath prov'd ſo chargeable, that we „ have nothing left to live upon. Could we ſell our books, we ſhould „ be ſo far from deſiring any thing at your hands, that on the contrary „ we ſhould willingly contribute of our own to you, whoſe exigencies „ at this juncture we are well acquainted with; and this ſhall readily be „ perform'd, whenever fortune, by your aſſiſtance, ſhall ſmile upon us. „ In the mean time, let your Holineſs pity and help us, whoſe neceſſity „ is ſo exceeding great. — *March* xx, *ann.* MCCCCLXXII, and in the „ firſt year of your moſt gracious pontificate. „

THUS were theſe indigent perſons oblig'd to expoſe their miſery to the world; with what ſucceſs, I cannot learn: tho' it is evident from their printing a conſiderable time after, as ſhall be ſhewn, that ſome method muſt have been taken to extricate them from thoſe wretched circumſtances. *Sweynheim* indeed publiſh'd nothing after the year 1473, and for that reaſon is ſuppos'd by ſome to have dy'd about that time; yet his partner *Pannartz* continu'd printing till *ann.* 1476, in a ſmaller character than what was us'd by him in company with the former. It will not perhaps be amiſs to remark that the word *quinternio* in the petition, tranſlated by us *Quire-books*, ſignifies a quire of five ſheets ſo impos'd, that they are put into one another by the book-binder, and the *firſt* ſheet contains the *firſt* and *laſt* of the 10 leaves, the *ſecond* the 2d and 9th, *&c.* this method oblig'd 'em to compoſe *twenty* whole pages of matter, before they work'd it off at preſs; and requir'd a prodigious quantity of letter to every Font. All the editions of theſe two partners as yet known, from their firſt ſettlement at *Rome*, *ann.* 1467 to 1473 in which *Sweynheim* is thought to have dy'd, are 40 in number, all folio's and in *latin*; ſome of them pretty conſiderable, ſuch were their Bible of 1471 mention'd in the former book in two large volumes, and *Nicol. de Lyra* in five larger ones; the works of Pope *Leo* ſirnam'd the Great, *&c.* As for thoſe which *Pannartz* printed afterwards by himſelf, we have not been able to diſcover above ſix, all *latin* folio's, but none ſo conſiderable as the three

laſt

laſt named: he began to uſe the *Regiſtrum Chartarum* (which is the ſignatures plac'd at the end of the book thus, A B C D, *&c.* and ſo on for as many ſheets as the book contains) in his edition of *Herodotus* tranſlated by *Laurent. Valla*, and printed *ann.* 1475; his latter works are done in a very elegant character; the laſt of which is the *Quæſtiones de Veritate* of *Thom. Aquinas.* It muſt be obſerv'd that many of theſe editions are printed without date, and ſometimes without their names, but moſt of them have one or the other of the Epigrams mention'd before *viz. Hoc Conradus opus* &c. or *Aſpicis illuſtres*, &c. but oftener the latter.

THESE are all the particulars I could meet with concerning theſe two Printers. The next in rank is,

ULDRIC HAN ann. MCCCCLXVIII.

ULDRIC HAN is commonly call'd in *Latin*, *Gallus*, in *Italian Gallo*, and in *French Coq*, which ſignifies a *Cock*; for every writer upon this ſubject, has thought fit to tranſlate his name into that language in which he wrote. This Printer came and ſet up a Printing-preſs at *Rome* within a very ſhort ſpace after *Sweynheim* and *Pannartz.* He was a perſon ſo accompliſh'd in his art, that ſeveral nations have claim'd him, and in particular the *Germans* and *French.* Theſe latter grounded their pretences upon the following authority. *Anthony Campanus* biſhop of *Terumo*, the moſt diſtinguiſh'd poet and orator of his time, perform'd the ſame office to him, which the biſhop of *Aleria* did to the two *Germans*, *viz.* of preparing and correcting his copies, reviſing his editions, and writing epiſtles and commendatory verſes upon them. He obſerving that *Han* had latiniz'd his name, and ſubſcrib'd one or two of his impreſſions *Uldaricus Gallus*, particularly the edition of the univerſal hiſtory of *Rodoricus Santius* a *Spaniard*, whom Pope *Paul* II made governour of the caſtle of St *Angelo* and biſhop of *Palentino*, took occaſion to miſtake his name willfully, (for he could not poſſibly be ignorant of his being a *German*,) and to repreſent him as a *Frenchman*, not ſo much out of reſpect to that nation above the *Germans*, as for the ſake of a pun in his epigram, which you will find in the margin [1]. The witticiſm conſiſts chiefly in this,

[1] Anſer *Tarpei* cuſtos Jovis, unde quod alis
Conſtreperes, *Gallus* decidit; ultor adeſt
Uldricus Gallus: ne quem poſcantur in uſum,
Edocuit pennis nil opus eſſe tuis.

that

that the *Gauls* or *French* being diſcover'd by the noiſe of the geeſe one night in their attempt to ſurprize the *Roman* Capitol, a countryman of theirs had found out a way to be reveng'd of them, by teaching the world an art of writing without the help of their quills. Theſe verſes are annex'd to an edition of *T. Livy* by *U. Han* without date, and quoted by ſeveral authors.

MICH. FERNUS in his life of that Biſhop tells us, that he learn'd this epigram of a *Turk*, whom he met with in a journey to the Pope's territories; and who gave him account of his converſion to the chriſtian religion, and his early love of eloquence, which induc'd him to leave *Turky* and come to *Rome*, to ſee the famous *Paul* II. and *Campanus*, whoſe works he had carefully collected; and amongſt other things recited this epigram. However, 'tis evident that he was a *German* by his adding the name of his country to that of *Gallus* in ſeveral of his editions. Thus, in that of *Cicero de Oratore*, *ann.* 1468. he calls himſelf *Ulricum Gallum de Wienâ*; in St *Auſtin de civitate Dei ann.* 1474, *Ulricum Gallum Almanum*; in ſome others *Ulricum Gallum de Bienna* & *de Ingolſtat.* *Wimpheling* undertook to prove him a *German* againſt *Fernus*, who in his life of *Campanus* chang'd *Gallus* into *Gallicus* to make him an abſolute *Frenchman*, and aſcrib'd this miſtake to his having tranſlated his name into *latin*; which, as *Hermolaus Barbarus* aſſerts, ought never to be done. But in this he did no more than what was frequent among the *Germans* and others, who to ſoften the harſhneſs of their ſirnames, either alter'd or latiniz'd them; ſo *Fuſt* chang'd his into *Fauſtus*, *Schoeffer* into *Opilio*, *Leichtenſtein* into *Levi lapis*, *des Rouges* into *de Rubeis*, and the learned *Stephens* into *Stephanus*; which cuſtom ſtill prevails in foreign parts: and the famous Monſ. *le Clerc* of *Amſterdam*, ſtiles himſelf *Joan. Clericus* in all his *latin* works. To return to *Ulric Han*.

THE time of his firſt coming to *Rome* is not eaſily determin'd. Some affirm that he was ſettled there before *Sweynheim* and *Pannartz*, as *Wimpheling*, *Monſ. Naude*, and Dr. *Mentel*; but this ſeems improbable upon two accounts. 1. Becauſe we have no edition of his ſo ancient as thoſe of the two laſt nam'd; 2. Becauſe the Bp. of *Aleria*, who was the editor of all the firſt impreſſions of theſe, determines in their favour; and his teſtimony is of much greater weight in this caſe, than that of thoſe

thoſe writers. He attributes *the honour to* Sweynheim, *&c. of having founded the firſt Printing-houſe at* Rome, *and brought the Art from* Germany, *in the preceding Popes reign, and by their example encourag'd others to do the like*; as he ſpeaks in the petition to *Xyſtus* IV, above quoted. Now *Xyſtus*'s predeceſſor was *Paul* II, who was advanc'd to that dignity in *Auguſt* 1464; and in his days they came to *Rome*. If *Campanus*, the patron of *Ulric*, had known of his ſettling there before them, he would certainly have contradicted the Bp. of *Aleria*, and maintain'd the priority to the man, who, under his protection, prov'd ſo indefatigable in his buſineſs, that himſelf was engag'd night and day in reviſing his works [1]. The merit of this Printer appears from his fine impreſſions, and the choice that his patron made of him to publiſh thoſe works, which he had procur'd and corrected with the utmoſt application, as well as from the praiſes, which he gives him in his prefatory epiſtles and verſes. We find by the liſt of his books, that he frequently neglected the date of the impreſſion and his own name. The former defect is ſupplied, as far as poſſible, from ſome material circumſtances, either in the epiſtles affix'd to them, or elſewhere in the book; and the latter by a diligent comparing of one edition with another; for there is ſome peculiar difference between the characters of the firſt Printers, by which a nice obſerver may judge of the author.

THUS Mr. *Mattaire* remarks that the types of *Con. Sweynheim* and *Arn. Pannartz*, were eaſily known by their having a long *ſ* at the end of words, the *i* without a point, and no diphthongs: thoſe of *Nic. Jenſon* were much more round and neat, with the diphthongs, æ and œ; whereas *Jo. Spires* made uſe of ę for æ, and *Ulric Han* uſes a ſingle *e* inſtead of a diphthong.

ABOUT 1473, *Han* took *Simon Nicolai de Luca* into partnerſhip with him till the end of the year 1474, after which he printed by himſelf till 1476. There was alſo a brother of his, call'd *Lupus Han*, whoſe name ſtands alone in ſome of thoſe impreſſions, which are nevertheleſs allow'd to be *Ulric's*

[1] Cum *Uldricus* quidam *Gallicus*, qui formas in urbem literarias nuper intuliſſet, illum interquieſcere aſſiduis emendationibus non permitteret, remque literariam ex magnis difficultatibus inopiaque ad ingentem ubertatem glorioſiſſimo illo & divino opificio evocaret, *&c. Fern. in Vita Campani.*

by

by reaſon of the likeneſs of the character &c. and added to the liſt of his works by the two lateſt annaliſts, Mr. *Maittaire* and Father *Orlandi*. He affected to put at the end of ſome of his editions, the colophon of *John Fauſt* and *Peter Schoeffer*. *Non atramento, plumali calamo*, &c. *i. e.* that it was not done with pen, ink, or any other writing inſtrument, &c.

Ann. 1473 he began to print a regiſter in two columns at the end of his *Virgil*: all his other editions, as yet known, are 21 in number, the firſt of which is *Cicero de Oratore* in 3 books *ann.* 1468, the laſt *Tit. Livy* in *Italian* 1476: this laſt is in three volumes *fol.* the 2d of which has an error in its date, where they have printed 1460 inſtead of 1476. This work has not indeed his name, but thoſe who have ſeen it make no doubt but it was printed by him.

The two *Germans* had reaſon to tell the Pope in their petition, that their example had encourag'd many more Printers to come and ſettle at *Rome*, ſeeing we find no leſs than *thirteen*, who practis'd the ſame Art there between 1470 and 1490, beſides the brother of *Uldric Han*, and his partner *Simon de Luca*; and *eight* or *nine* of whom were actually ſettled there within a few years after the two former; but as we have nothing left particularly concerning them, except their names and their works, we ſhall juſt mention them as they came in courſe of time.

4. George Laver *de Herbipoli* 1470 *alias Wortsburg*, he wrought in the Monaſtery of St. *Euſebius* at *Rome*, as we find by an epigram of eight verſes in *latin* rhyme written, as is ſuppos'd, by his corrector *Celeſtine Pulverinus*; and printed at the end of his edition of *Tractatus de Inſtitutione ſimplicium Confeſſorum*, *ann.* 1472; he had a partner ſome ſpace of the time, *viz. Leonard Pelugi*; we have but *five* editions of his; the *firſt* is that of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s homilies, tranſlated into *latin* by *Fr. Aretine*, *fol. ann.* 1470; the *laſt* is *Durandi Speculum*, *ann.* 1479; he had another corrector nam'd *Pomponius*.

5. Adam Rot 1471, he us'd likewiſe *Fauſt*'s colophon, and in the firſt of the two editions we have of him, ſtyles himſelf *Clericus Metenſ. Dioceſ.* his laſt edition is dated 1474.

6. John

6. JOHN PHILIP *de Lignamine* 1472, he was a native of *Meſſina* and a *Sicilian* knight, and intimate with Pope *Sixtus* IV, to whom he inſcrib'd a book of his writing, *De unoquoque Cibo & Potu utili homini & nocivo, & eorum primis qualitalibus. Malinkrot* mentions him *pag.* 84 upon the authority of *Simler*, which laſt affirms him to have printed the following works at *Rome*, *viz. Quintilian*, *Suetonius*, the works of St. *Leo*, *Lactantius*, St. *Ambroſe*, *Tully*'s *Offices*, *Laur. Valla*'s *Elegantiæ*, and *Horatii opuſcula:* but we find none of theſe editions in the liſt of his works, but only four leſs conſiderable ones, the *three* firſt in *Italian*, and the laſt, *Euſebius*'s hiſtory tranſlated into *Latin* by *Rufinus*, and printed *ann.* 1476.

7. STEPHEN PLANCK of *Padua* 1472, we have *eight* editions of his, the laſt of which is dated 1497.

8. GEORGE SACHEL *de Reichenhalt*, 1474; his laſt edition of *three* is dated 1477.

9. JOHN REYNARD *de Eningen*, 1475; we have but one edition of his printed at *Rome*, *ann.* 1475, 14 years after which, we find him printing at *Strasburgh*.

10. JOHN *de Nicolao Haneymar de Openheim*,
11. JOHN SCHUSENER *de Bopardia*, } 1475,

we have but two editions of theirs, both dated 1475.

12. JOHN TIBULL *de Amidanis Cremoneſe*, 1475; the two editions we have of his bear the ſame date.

13. EUCHARIUS SILBER of WIRTZBURGH, 1475.

THIS *Silber*, alias *Franck*, a *German* and native of *Wirtzburgh*, ſignaliz'd himſelf at *Rome* by the fineneſs of his letter, which were of the *Venetian* ſort. He ſet up his Printing-houſe in *Campo di Fiore*; and not only tranſlated his name *Silber* [*Silver*] into *latin*, but likewiſe into *greek*; ſo that ſome of his editions are ſubſcrib'd *Achirion* and *Argyrion*, others *Argenteus*, added to that of *Franck*. The works we have of his are *twenty one* in number, from *ann.* 1475 to 1500: however he continued printing there many years after, but either the greateſt part of theſe laſt have been loſt, or elſe he printed but little, ſince we meet only with two editions of his from 1500 to 1509, in Mr. *Mattaire*'s annals.

His correctors were *Michael Fern* ſirnam'd *Archipoeta*, *Bartholomew Salicetus*, and *Ludovicus Regii*; the firſt of whom collected with prodigious induſtry all biſhop *Campanus*'s works, which he caus'd to be printed in two different places within *ſix* months of each other, *viz.* at *Venice* and *Rome*, in the order in which he had digeſted them. Theſe impreſſions were printed ſo incorrectly, that he was oblig'd to inſert an *Errata* in *Silber*'s edition; wherein he expreſſes a vaſt deal of indignation, that a work, in which he had labour'd ſo much, ſhould yet be publiſh'd ſo full of faults; and gives it the following title, *Vis ex ſtulto demens, idemque ex demente inſanus fieri? Libros* Romæ *primus imprime, Corruptorum recognitio.* After this he proceeds to the *Errata*, with an acknowledgement of his own errors, and endeavours to clear the Printers of others. He ſhows the care which he had taken to render the edition correct; but that his efforts were fruſtrated by the careleſſneſs of the Printers, who, being tir'd with a days labour, correct their proofs imperfectly, and frequently neglect or omit the author's corrections.

In the ſequel of this hiſtory we ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome *Errata's* of a much greater length than the foregoing, which *Fern* complains ſo loudly of, tho' this contain'd four large pages in *fol.* The two laſt Printers in this city before 1500 are:

14. Simon *de Nicolo* of *Luca* 1478, who had been ſometime partner to the fam'd *Uldric Han*, and of whom we have but one edition. And,

15. Peter *de Turre*, *ann.* 1490, in which year he printed *Ptolemy*'s *Coſmography* in a large *folio* with maps and cutts, and in a beautiful character, [*Orland.* p. 79.] which is all that we have of his. We find about twenty more editions without Printer's names; however the reader will eaſily ſee by this liſt of Printers, and the ſcarcity of their works, that the Art began to dwindle very much before the cloſe of the century; and if he conſults Mr. *Mattaire* upon the next, he will find it ſtill much thinner of both; but whether for want of encouragement, or what other cauſe, is not my buſineſs to enquire.

§. 2. *The City of* Tours, 1467.

TOURS is an Archiepiſcopal city of *France*; in which we meet with but one book printed. This, 'tho done in an old *Gothick* character, (which was not as yet us'd in any place but *Mentz*) is ſo elegant, that it may be eſteem'd a maſter-piece of that kind. 'Tis to be regretted, that the Printer of ſuch an excellent work ſhould be unknown. The impreſſion was done in the Archbiſhop's palace; but if the reader upon that account, ſhall expect it to be a piece of devotion, he will be vaſtly miſtaken; for it is not unuſual with eccleſiaſticks of the moſt elevated ſtations in that church, to have a greater reliſh for gallantry than religion. The book is the loves of *Camillus* and *Emilia*; to which is ſubjoin'd another upon the ſame ſubject, tranſlated from *Boccacio* by *Aretin*, and is inſcrib'd as follows.

FRANCISCI FLORII *Florentini* de Amore *Camilli* & *Æmiliæ* liber, *expletus eſt Turonis, editus in domo Guillelmi Archiepiſcopi Turonenſis, anno milleſimo quadringenteſimo ſexageſimo ſeptimo, pridie calendas Januarii*, 4to. De duobus Amantibus Libellus in latinum, ex *Boccacio*, transfiguratus per *Leonardum Aretinum.* This book is join'd to the former, and printed in the ſame character and form.

THE following book was printed in the ſame city a long time after, *viz.* La vie & miracles de monſeigneur St. *Martin* tranſlatee de Latin en Francois: *imprimee par Mathieu Lateron, fol. 7me de May, Tours.* 1496.

N. B. *Tho' we deſign to treat in a diſtinct book of the introduction and progreſs of Printing in* England; *yet it is not amiſs to remark here, that* Oxford *comes next in courſe to the city of* Tours, *according to our premis'd criterion of the oldeſt editions; for the moſt ancient impreſſion printed in that univerſity, is St.* Jerome's *expoſition of the apoſtles creed* 4to, *bearing date* ann. 1468, a copy of which is now in the Earl of *Pembroke*'s library.

§. 3. *The Town of* Reutlingen, 1469.

THIS town of *Reutlingen*, and the city of *Venice* are next; the former of which being nearer to *Mentz*, may ſo far be allow'd the firſt rank: It is a ſmall town in the dutchy of *Wirtembergh*, in which *John de Averbach* ſet up a Printing-houſe *ann.* 1466, and publiſh'd the two following editions;

1. BIBLIA Latina, *fol.* per *Johannem de Averbach*, 1469.

2. ALVARI Pelagii Hiſpani ordin. min. ſumma de planctu eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ, *Reutlingæ.* 1474.

THIS is a very ſcarce book, and has not the Printer's name, but is nevertheleſs ſuppos'd to have been printed by *Averbach*: It is in *fol.* and the next edition of it was printed at *Ulm* ann. 1473. This *John Averbach* muſt not be confounded with the learned *J. Amerbach* of *Baſil*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place.

CHAP. III.

The City of Venice, 1469; *the Names, Character,* &c. *of the Printers who flouriſh'd in this City from* ann. 1469, *to* Aldus Manutius's *Time,* 1494

AS the city of *Venice* has excelled all others, not only in the number of workmen and editions, but likewiſe in the goodneſs and excellency of them, I ſhall be forc'd to divide it into two chapters; in the firſt of which I ſhall ſpeak of thoſe Printers who flouriſh'd from its firſt ſettlement there by *John* and *Vindelin de Spira*, to the time of the great *Aldus Manutius*, whoſe merit alone will very well deſerve to be ſpoken of in a chapter by it ſelf, tho' there were no others to bear him company in it.

WITH reſpect to thoſe firſt Printers, 'twill be ſuperfluous to repeat here what I have ſaid, in the introduction of this book, concerning

Nich. Jenſon, and the reaſons for ſuſpending my judgment concerning his edition of 1461, and allowing the priority to the foregoing cities before that of *Venice*. There will be further occaſion of ſpeaking of that Printer, when we ſhall come to thoſeother works of his, printed between the years 1470 and 1480. In the mean time I beg leave to remind the reader of the remark upon this head, which we juſt hinted in the introduction, *viz.* that the verſes at the end of the firſt impreſſion by *John* and *Windelin* of *Spire ann.* 1469, evidently prove them to have been the firſt who brought the Art to that city. The reader will find them in the margin [1]. Mr. *Mattaire* who hath a particular regard for his countryman *Jenſon*, and firſt diſcover'd to the world the edition in diſpute, very juſtly intimates, that there was ſuch an emulation among the firſt Printers, that they made no ſcruple of claiming the priority from each other, right or wrong; either by falſe dates, as we hinted before, or by pompous verſes annex'd to their works; from which he infers a probability that theſe two brothers might do ſo: whereas *Jenſon*, in his opinion was too modeſt, to have been guilty of ſuch a piece of arrogance. For my part I can't ſee any neceſſity of accuſing either ſide of ſuch a fault, ſeeing they never charg'd each other with it; beſides *Jenſon* in all probability printed his book ſomewhere elſe, and therefore might indeed be too modeſt when he came to *Venice*, to challenge the priority from them as to that place in particular. However, as to the point of modeſty, I own I am at a loſs to what ſide to give it, ſeeing all the firſt impreſſions, both of *Jenſon* and of the two brothers, are back'd with epigrams equally magnificent, and I don't ſee where there would have been the leaſt immodeſty in either to have aſcertain'd a juſt claim, againſt an unjuſt aſſuming rival. Let me add, that (if there was any wilfull miſtake on either ſide, which I think there was not) it is more probable *Jenſon* ſhould have committed it, than the two brothers; becauſe he might eaſily, if there was occaſion, excuſe it by making his date paſs for an error of impreſſion; whereas the two *Germans* publiſh'd themſelves, in words at length and

[1] Primus in Adriaca formis impreſſit aenis
Urbe libros *Spirâ* genitus de ſtirpe *Johannes*.
In reliquis ſit quanta, vides, ſpes, lector, habenda,
Quam labor hic primus calami ſuperaverit artem.
MCCCCLXVIIII.

in

in the plaineſt terms, the firſt Printers at *Venice*, and ſo left no room for evaſion. I ſhall therefore begin with them, who were not inferior to *Jenſon* himſelf.

JOHN and VINDELINE of SPIRE, 1469.

THEY were natives of *Germany*, but whether of the city of *Spire*, whoſe name they bear, or whether that was only their ſirname, I cannot determine; for tho' ſome of the epigrams annex'd to their books ſeem to imply the former, yet it is difficult to affirm certainly that it was not a poetical licence, which, in this caſe, might have been more excuſable than that of *Campanus* upon *Ulric Han*, mention'd in the preceding chapter. However, 'tis plain that many of the *German* Printers had no other ſirnames than thoſe of the places wherein they were born.

THESE two brothers ſoon ſurpaſs'd all their predeceſſors in the beauty and neatneſs of their characters, and the elegance of their impreſſions, which to this time render them admir'd and eſteem'd by the curious, above all other ancient editions. *Venice* by this gain'd ſo much reputation for the fineneſs of her types, that ſome eminent Printers at *Rome* and elſewhere either furniſh'd themſelves with ſetts of them, or endeavour'd to imitate them, acquainting their readers in their next impreſſions, that they were printed *characteribus Venetianis*, with *Venetian* types. *Chevillier* indeed thinks this to have been an impoſition upon the world; nor can it be denied but that ſome of them pretended this, in order to recommend their own wretched performances. But this demonſtrates the ſuperior merit of that city, and the laudable emulation of her Printers, not only to excell thoſe of other places, but even one another. And indeed theſe two brothers with *John de Cologn* and *N. Jenſon*, ſeem to have brought the Art to its utmoſt perfection, becauſe none of the moſt famous Printers which ſucceeded till our time, ſuch as *Vaſcoſan*, the *Stephens*'s, &c. have ſurpaſs'd them in this reſpect; as well as becauſe this, like other arts, ſeem'd obnoxious to a certain fatality and decline, when carried to a particular height, as it happen'd in the ſpace of *ſix* or *ſeven* years after their firſt ſettlement at *Venice*. What I mean is, that they ſhould ſo unaccountably ſuffer themſelves to be carry'd away by the degenerate taſte

taſte of that age, and change their beautiful Roman character, for the old, obſolete and diſagreeable Gothick, which they began to print with about the year 1477.

THE *Spires* had the two following learned men for their correctors, *viz. Chriſtopher Berardus* of *Piſauro*, and *George Alexandrinus*; *John*, the elder brother, is reported to be the firſt who put the direction-word at the end of the page, and that upon good grounds, ſince no book, to our knowledge, before his *Tacitus*, hath it; the ſingular uſe of which is too obvious to want explanation. He liv'd no longer than to the year 1470, and was ſucceeded in the whole buſineſs by *Windelin*, who manag'd it with great applauſe by himſelf 'till 1472, in which year he took *John de Cologn* into partnerſhip with him. We find but one book, *viz. Plautus*, printed by them joyntly; ſo that it is probable each of them return'd ſoon after to his ſeparate preſs. This *Windelin* was ſo highly eſteem'd as a Printer even by his own countrymen, (a thing very uncommon!) that he was twice invited into *Germany* by ſome eminent counſellors at law of that nation, to print there the following conſiderable volumes, *viz.* 1. *Bartholi commentarium juridicum*, which he perform'd *ann.* 1471, without the name of the place, adding only two verſes inſerted in the margin[1]; and 2. The commentaries upon the five books of *Decretals* of *Nic. Tudeſchi* of *Sicily*, ſirnam'd *Abbas Panormitanus*, *ann.* 1474[2]; he printed likewiſe in *Germany*, about the ſame time, the firſt edition of the *Tractatus Tractatuum* ſive *Oceanus Juris* 15 vol. *fol.* But as he had engag'd himſelf, preſently after his brother's death, not to leave *Venice*, (as appears by the verſes at the end of St. *Auſtin de civitate Dei*, *ann.* 1470[3] begun, but not finiſh'd by his brother,) he return'd thither, and continued printing with prodigious honour till the year 1477, wherein he began to fall in with the Gothick character beforemention'd. In this he was followed by all the reſt, and even by the celebrated *Nic. Jenſon*, tho' this laſt ſtill preſerv'd the beauty and neatneſs of his forms, which the others very much

[1] Hos *Windelinus* clara virtute magiſter
Tranſcripſit; celeri formula preſſa pede.
Maittaire Annal. Typogr. p. 94, ſub not. (*b*)

[2] *Vide Orlandi* pag. 19.

[3] Qui docuit *Venetos* exſcribi poſſe *Johannes*
Menſe fere trino centena volumina *Plini*,
Et totidem magni *Ciceronis Spira* libellos;
Cœperat *Aureli*, ſubita ſed morte peremptus
Non potuit cœptum *Venetis* finire volumen.
Windelinus adeſt ejuſdem frater, & arte
Non minor: *Adriacaque* morabitur urbe.

degene-

degenerated from. About this time *Windelin* probably dy'd, becauſe we meet with no impreſſion of his that bears a date later than 1477. Such was the eſteem the learned had of this excellent Printer, that of *twenty eight* impreſſions we have extant of his, above *twenty* of them have a *latin* epigram at the end in praiſe of him; ſome of which are of a conſiderable length, and moſt of them by different hands. The firſt edition is that of *Cicero*'s *Epiſtolæ familiares*, *ann.* 1469; the laſt we know of with a date, is *Dante*'s *Poems*, *ann.* 1477; ſome of his editions are without date.

3. Nicholas Jenson, Janson or Genson, 1470.

Nich. Jenson is allow'd by the generality of writers to have been a Frenchman; and as he was one of the firſt of that nation, who was eminent in this Art, all his countrymen have been more than ordinarily laviſh of their praiſes on him; ſo that whoever reads ſome of their encomiums, would be apt to think him the only Printer of merit in that age, and that there had never been any edition worth their conſideration, 'till it came out of his preſs; and this they did, even before they ſo much as dreamt of that early maſter-piece of his, the *Decor Puellarum:* we need not therefore wonder at Mr. *Mattaire*, if we find him ſo highly pleas'd at the diſcovery of this ſingular work; for it muſt be own'd, that unleſs we will diſpute the date of it, the higheſt encomiums muſt fall ſhort of his merit; ſince it will plainly follow, that he was not only the earlieſt by ſome years, who improv'd the Art, but likewiſe who brought it to its greateſt perfection, with reſpect to the fineneſs of his Roman characters, and elegancy of compoſition. Whereas were the ſuppoſition of thoſe, who think it antedated by *ten* years, to be allow'd, it will be manifeſt that there had already been ſeveral eminent Printers at *Rome*, *Venice*, and elſewhere before him, who introduc'd that noble and elegant character; and that tho' his ſhould be allow'd to be ſomewhat finer than thoſe of his predeceſſors, yet would his merit be inferior to theirs, and his improvement upon them be but ſmall in compariſon of that, which they made upon the old *Moguntine* types. However that be, I acknowledge with the greateſt freedom and ſincerity, that he was an excellent maſter of the Art, and his impreſſions as beautiful, and, for the laſt *ten* years ſpace, wherein

wherein he follow'd the buſineſs, as numerous as any of his contempo raries. *Polydore Vergil* highly commends him for having ſo wonderfully improv'd the Art of Printing, and *Sabellicus* owns, that he and his partner *John de Cologn*, excell'd all the Printers of their time, in the richneſs and elegancy of their impreſſions [1]. The learned *Omnibonus Leonicenus*, who prepar'd copies for him, and corrected ſome of his editions, hath, in an epiſtle to the biſhop of *Belluno*, left us an excellent character of him, prefix'd to his *Quintilian anno* 1471 [2]. wherein he extols his types, and mentions him as a ſecond *Dædalus*, and as one to whom the greateſt ſhare of this invention was due.

THE learned therefore are very juſtly ſurpriz'd, that ſo excellent a maſter and ſo great an ornament to the Art of Printing ſhould be the firſt who brought the Gothic character to *Venice*, in which he printed his bibles, divinity, and law-books. This method was follow'd by all his brethren, both in that city, and in ſeveral others of *Europe*; tho' it muſt be own'd that he far ſurpaſs'd the reſt even in that reſpect, and ſhow'd a more exact taſte and judgment; for his Gothic types had all the beauty and elegancy, which they were capable of, and may be ſtill read with pleaſure and admiration.

I don't find that he had any other corrector beſides *Omnibon. Leonicenus* above-mention'd, if we except *Franciſcus Colutia Verzinenſis*, who in his dedication prefix'd to the work of *Palladius de Agricultura*, of which he was the editor, tells *Jenſon* to whom he dedicates it, that it was at his deſire that he had undertaken to correct that work. By this it ſeems as if *Jenſon* was the firſt printer who had any of his impreſſions dedicated to himſelf. Moſt of his works, like thoſe of the two *German* brothers, have a *latin* epigram at the end in praiſe of him; but, what is remarkable, not one of them ſpeaks of him as the firſt *Venetian* Printer,

[1] Sed omnium maxime opibus & eleganti literarum forma multum cæteros antecelluerunt *Nicholaus Jenſon* & *Johannes Colonienſis: Sabellic.* Enead. 10. l 6.

[2] Accedebant juſtæ preces magiſtri Nicolai Jenſon Gallici, alterius, ut vere dicam, Dædali, qui librariæ artis mirabilis inventor, non ut ſcribantur calamo libri, ſed veluti gemma imprimantur, ac prope ſigillo, primus omnium ingenioſe monſtravit: ut huic viro, qui de re literaria tam bene meruit, nemo ſit qui non favere debeat. Idcirco non difficulter impetravit, ut non ſolum hoc opus, verum etiam utramque Ciceronis artem corrigerem.

which circumſtance alone would be ſufficient to juſtify us for poſtponing him to them. We meet with four of his editions printed in one year, *viz.* 1470, which ſhews him to have been a very diligent work-man. And in the ſpace of ten years, we have thirty-nine of them, ſtill extant; excluſive of the *Decor Puellarum*, beſides thoſe which may have been loſt, or are ſtill undiſcover'd. The firſt edition printed by him in *Gothic* character, is St *Auſtin*'s book *de Civitate Dei*, *anno* 1475. the two laſt of his works are dated 1481.

4. Christopher Waldarfer of Ratisbon, 1470.

Concerning this Printer we know little, except that we have four of his editions ſtill extant corrected by *Ludovicus Carbo* or *Carbone:* the *third* of which *viz. Servius Comment.* on *Virgil* fol. *anno* 1471, has an epigram of *four latin* diſtichs in his praiſe, by which we may gueſs that he printed a great many more works than theſe *four*, eſpecially *Claſſicks*. The laſt of them, *viz. Pliny's Epiſtles*, hath neither the name of the Printer nor place; but by a dedication prefix'd to it by the ſaid *Carbo* to *Borſo* duke of *Modena*, one may conclude it to have been done by *Waldarfer*. He remov'd from *Venice* ſoon after, and ſet up a Printing-houſe at *Milan*, where we ſhall find him, when we come to that place.

5, 6. John *de* Cologn, & John Manthen *de* Geretzen. 1471.

These two *Germans* came and ſettled at *Venice*, ſoon after the two *Spires*, and were equal to any of their contemporaries, in the beauty of their Roman types, the fineneſs of their paper, and elegance and correctneſs of their works. But they likewiſe gave into the Gothic way of printing; and it is obſervable that *Venice* and *Lyons* have produc'd more of thoſe impreſſions, than almoſt all *Italy* and *France* together. Whether theſe Printers were more modeſt than their brethren, is uncertain; but, however, in the liſt of their editions, we meet with none of thoſe pompous epigrams and panegyricks upon themſelves, ſo frequently us'd at that time. They took *Nic. Jenſon* into partnerſhip with them, towards the later part of their printing. *John de Cologn* is affirm'd by ſome

ſome to have invented the *Regiſtrum Chartarum* about *anno* 1475; but it is obvious to the reader, from the catalogue of *Uldric Han*'s works at *Rome*, that the latter us'd it at leaſt two years before him.

THERE is one thing remarkable in one of their colophons, at the end of their editions of *Valerius Maximus*, *fol. anno* 1474; and which, for that reaſon, I have ſubjoyn'd in the margin[1]: that they were rather book-ſellers than Printers: becauſe they acquaint the readers in it, that they had given this work to be printed by men hir'd for that purpoſe. We ſhall meet with many more in the ſequel of this hiſtory, who follow'd their example.

HOWEVER it muſt be own'd, that all the works that came out of their preſs, or were printed for them, are an honour to them: the laſt liſt of their editions according to father *Orlandi* amounts to 28, from *ann.* 1471 to 1481.

As we know little or nothing concerning the following ones, beſides their names and their works; we ſhall juſt mention them in their rank, according to the date of the works we have of them.

7. ANTONY BOLOGNESE, or *Antonio de Bartolomeo*, *de Bolonia*, 1472. we have *five* editions of his from 1472, to 1486.

8. LEONARD ACHATES of *Baſil*, 1472. 1 edition.

9. GABRIEL *de Pietro* of *Treviſo*, 1473. 6 edit. to 1478.

10. FRANCIS *de Hailbrun* and
11. NICOL. *de Francford* } 1473. 3 edit. to 1475.

12. BARTOLOMEW CREMONESE, 1473. 3 edit. to 1475.

13. JAMES *des Rouges* 1474.

THIS was his true name, he being a *Frenchman*, tho' in his *latin* editions he writes himſelf *Jacobus Rubeus* or *de Rubeis*; and in his *Italian* ones *di Roſſi* and *Roſſi*: He was juſtly eſteem'd one of the beſt Printers in his time. 'Tis affirm'd by ſome that he aſſiſted *Nic. Jenſon* in improving his Roman characters; but this is improbable, becauſe it doth not appear, that he came to *Venice* 'till two or three years, at leaſt, after the other had publiſh'd ſome of his fine editions. However, the beauty of his letter, and the fineneſs of his impreſſions are incomparable; particularly the two

[1] Venetiis impreſſoribus expoſitus fuit per *Joh. de Cologn. Agrippin.* ac *Joh. Manthen de Gherretſteim*, MCCCCLXXIV, qui una fideliter viventes, eoſdem impreſſores ad hoc duxerunt.

hiſtories of *Florence* in *Italian*, one written by *Leonard de Arezo*, and the other by *Poggius*, are accounted maſter-pieces in that kind. At length he left *Venice*, and ſettled at *Pignerol* in *Piedmont*, where he printed an *Italian Bible*, the ſatyrs of *Juvenal*, and ſome other work, which we ſhall ſpeak of in its proper place. There is one thing more to enhance his merit, which is, that he comply'd not with the degenerate taſte of thoſe times, in introducing the Gothic characters into his Printing-houſe; his impreſſions from *anno* 1474 to 1476, are ten in number.

14. CHRISTOPHER ARNOLD: we have but two editions of his from 1474 to 1478.

15. ANDREAS JACOBI of *Cathara*; 5 editions from 1476 to 1482.

16. MARC. *de Conti* and
17. GERARD ALEXANDER } 1 edit. 1476.

18. BERNARD PICTOR and
19. ERHARD RALDOLT of *Ausburg*, } 5 edit. from 1476 to 1477.

20. GERARD *de Flandria*, 1 edit. 1477.

21. JAMES LUNESE *de Fivizano*, 2 edit. 1477.

22. PHILIP PETRI or *de Petro*, *Venetian*, 13 edit. from 1477 to 1482.

23. GUERIN *the young*, 1 edit. 1477.

24. ANDREAS *de Pataſichis* and
25. BONINO *de Boninis* } 8 edit. from 1478 to 1488.

26. MARTIN SARACEN, 3 edit. from 1478 to 1488.

27. LEONARD WILD *de Ratisbon*, 3 edit. from 1478 to 1481.

28. FRANC. RENNER *de Hailbrun*, 5 edit. from 1478 to 1494.

29. THEODORIC *de Reynsberg* and
30. REYNALD *de Novimagio* } 2 edit. 1478,

31. GEORGE WALCH *German*, 1 edit. 1479.

32. NICHOLAS GERARDENGO, 2 edit. from 1479 to 1480.

REYNALD *de Novimagio* by himſelf, 7 edit. from 1479 to 1494.

ERHARD RALDOLT by himſelf, 13 edit. from 1480 to 1485, after this he went to his own city *Ausburgh*, and ſet up his preſs there, as we have ſaid under that head.

33. PETER PIASII
34. BARTHOL. BLAVII
35. ANDREA TORRESANI *de Azola* } 11 edit. from 1480 to 1495.

36. JOHN

36. JOHN LUCILIUS SANTRITER and
37. FRANCIS THEODORE } 3 edit. 1480 to 1489.

38. OCTAVIAN SCOT was a nobleman of the city of *Mons*, who ſet up ſome preſſes at *Venice* at his own charge, and printed a great number of curious editions, all which are marked with O. S. M. his chief corrector was *Maurice de Hibernia*, or of *Ireland*, a Franciſcan monk, who was afterwards made biſhop of *Triamo:* all the editions we have of *Octavian Scot* are 39, from *ann.* 1480 to 1498.

THE chief workmen he employ'd to print for him are the three following,

39. CHRISTOPHER PENSI,
40. BENNET LOCATELLUS,
41. BARTHOLOMEW ZANI.

THE laſt of theſe did likewiſe print for himſelf, and we have 15 editions of his printed with his own name, from 1487 to 1500.

42. JOHN *de Forlivio* and } theſe two printed 26 edit. from 1481 to
43. GREGORY *de Gregoriis* } 1500.
44. LUCAS *de Dominico*, *Venetian*, 5. edit. from 1481 to 1482.
45. BAPTISTA *de Tortis*, 18 edit. from 1481 to 1498.
46. THOMAS of *Alexandria* and partners, 6 edit. from 1481 to 1486.
47. ANTONY *dalla Strada Cremoneſe*, 10 edit. from 1481 to 1488.
48. MATHEW CAPCASA of *Parma*, 10 edit. from 1481 to 1495.
49. ANTONY PAP and
50. BERNARDIN MORENI *de Lecho* } 1 edit. 1482.

51. PETER LOSLEIN *German*, he was both partner and corrector to *Bernard Pictor* and *Erhard Raldolt* at *Venice*, we have two editions printed with his name both 1483.

52. BERNARDIN BENATIO, or *de Benateis*, 12 edit. from 1483 to 1498.

53. PETER MAUFER a Frenchman and
54. NICHOL. de *Contengo* of *Ferrara* } 1 edit. 1483.

MAUFER was a very good Printer, but mov'd often from place to place; he began firſt to work at *Padua*, then went to *Verona*, and afterwards came to *Venice:* where we find but one ſingle edition done by him.

55. HERMAN LITCHENSTEIN in *latin Levilapis*; this was another unſettled workman, he wrought at *Vincenza*, *Treviſo*, and now at *Venice*; where we have 5 edit. of his, from 1483 to 1494.

56. AN-

56. ANDREA BONETTI *de Pavia*, 3 edit. from 1484 to 1486.
57. PEREGRIN PASQUALI and
58. DIONIS BERTOCH, or *de Bertochis* of *Bolonia* } 12 edit. from 1484 to 1494.
59. PAGANINUS *de Paganinis*, 7 edit. from 1485 to 1498.
60. BERNARD STAGNINO *de Trino*, 5 edit. from 1485 to 1498.
61. ANTONY RACTIBOVIUS, 1 edit. 1485.
62. ALEXANDER CRETENSIS, he was a native of *Crete*, the only work we have of him, is a *Greek Pſalter* 4to *ann.* 1486, with a *latin* colophon, in which he ſtyles himſelf, *Filius ſapientiſſimi & celeberrimi Domini* Georgii Preſbyteri.
63. WILLIAM *de Trino* ſirnam'd *Anima mia*, 5 edit. from 1486 to 1491.
64. BERNARD RIZZI *de Novara*, 10 edit. from 1486 to 1492, it is to be obſerv'd, that his five firſt, *i. e.* from 1486 to 1489, are ſubſcrib'd only *Bernard de Novara*, and the five laſt *Bern. Rizzi de Novara*, which has made ſome authors queſtion whether they were not two different Printers: his corrector was *Dominic Canali.*
65. LEONICUS CRETENSIS, of him we have only *Homer*'s *Batrachomuomachia*, or battle of the frogs and mice in *greek*, *cum græcis ſcholiis* 4to, *ann.* 1486.
66. PETER CREMONESE ſirnam'd *Veroneſe*, 2 edit. from 1486 to 1490.
67. JOHN ROUGES *alias Rubeus*, *Roſſi*, 9 edit. from 1486 to 1499.
68. JOHN HAMMAN *de Landoja*
69. JOHN EMERICH *de Udenhem* } 4 edit. from 1487 to 1500.
70. HANIBAL *de Parma*, 1 edit. 1487.
71. THEODOR. RAGAZONI *alias de Ragazonibus*, 6 edit. from 1488 to 1500.
72. BERNARDINE *de Choris Cremoneſe*, 9 edit. from 1488 to 1492.
73. GEORGE ARRIVABENUS of *Mantua*, 4 edit. from 1488 to 1492.
74. CHRISTOPHER *de Penſis de Mandello*, 11 edit. from 1489 to 1500.
75. BERNARDINE *de Renatis*, 1 edit. 1490.
76. JAMES PAGANINI of *Breſcia*, 1 edit. 1490.
77. PHILIP PINCIUS *de Caneto*, this was a very diligent as well as excellent Printer: he continu'd printing 'till after the year 1510 with great applauſe:

applauſe: his corrector was the learned *Bennet Brugnoli*, a man very well verſed in the *greek* and *latin* tongues; his works from 1490 to 1500 are 24 in number.

78. THOMAS *de Blancis* of *Alexandria*, 1 edit. 1491.

79. SIMON *de Gara*, only a *latin* bible, 1491.

80. LAZARUS *de Siviliano*, 2 edit. from 1491 to 1492.

81. MANFRED. *de Montferrat*, 2 edit. from 1491 to 1492.

82. MAXIMUS *de Butricis* of *Pavia*, 1 edit. 1491.

83. FRANCIS GERARDENGO of *Pavia*, 1 edit. 1492.

84. JOHN *de Cereto de Tridino* ſirnam'd *Tacuino*, 23 edit. from 1492 to 1500.

85. BARTHOL. VENETUS *de Ragazzonibus*, 1 edit. 1492.

86. SIMON BEVILAQUA citizen of *Pavia*, 21 edit. from 1492 to 1500; he wrought alſo at *Pavia*, as we ſhall ſee when we come to that city.

87. JOHN PETER *de Querengis*, 5 edit. from 1492 to 1498.

88. DAMIAN *de Milan*, 2 edit. from 1493 to 1494.

89. MARTIN *de Rovado de Lazaronibus*, 1 edit. 1493.

90. JEROM *de Paganinis*, 2 edit. 1493 to 1497.

91. JOHN RAGAZZO and
92. JOHN MARIA } 1 edit. 1494.

93. PERRIN LATHOMI, 1 edit. 1494, beſides a Bible he printed at *Lyons*, 1479.

94. BERNARDINE VITATIS of *Venice*, 14 edit. from 1494 to 1500.

CHAP. IV.

Aldus Pius Manutius Romanus *a* Venetian *Printer, and the Inventor of Italick Letters; his Life, Character and* Greek *Editions, with an Account of the other Printers at* Venice, *till the Year* 1500.

ALDUS MANUTIUS, the moſt eminent Printer of the fifteenth century, was born *anno* 1445, when Printing was yet in its infancy; who as he grew up, became ſuch an admirer of this new Art, that

that tho' his education, learning and genius might have juſtly excited him to greater employments, yet he choſe to devote his whole time and ſtudy to the cultivating and improving all the branches of it. This deſign he perform'd with ſuch indefatigable application and vaſt charges, that his whole ambition ſeem'd to be confin'd to this province and the advancement of learning [1]. After he had receiv'd the rudiments of Grammar, under *Gaſpar* of *Verona*, he apply'd himſelf to the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues under the great *Baptiſta Guarini* of *Verona*; and in a ſhort time made ſuch a progreſs in theſe languages, as not only to ſurpaſs his fellow ſtudents, but even to rival his maſter himſelf. Thus he continued furniſhing his mind with every part of literature, in order to fit himſelf for that buſineſs, of which he was afterwards to become the ornament. The war breaking out in *Italy*, and the city of *Ferrara* being beſieged, he removed from thence to *Mirandula*, where he became acquainted with the great *Picus* of that name, a prince of the brighteſt genius that age had produc'd, and one of the greateſt lovers of learning, and of learned men, who not only receiv'd him with open arms, but procur'd him the acquaintance of many learned men, by whoſe converſation and correſpondence, *Aldus* receiv'd no ſmall advantage toward the acquiring that great knowledge of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, which he became afterwards ſo famous for. In the 45th year of his age, *anno* 1490, he began to prepare the neceſſary *apparatus* of a Printing-houſe, wherein he ſpent *four* years, and conſequently did not begin Printing till about *anno* 1494. During this interval he obſerv'd with regret to what degree the abbreviations, us'd by all the former Printers every where, were multiply'd; ſo that they became unintelligible, without ſome key to direct the reader, an inſtance of which is given in the margin [2]. Upon this, he conſider'd a method to remedy this inconve-

[1] Omnem enim vitam decrevimus ad hominum utilitatem conſumere—— nam etſi quietam ac tranquillam agere vitam poſſumus, negotioſam tamen eligimus & plenam laboribus. *Ald. præfat. ad Laſcar. Creten.*

[2] This curious example of the abbreviations, us'd in thoſe times, is extracted from *Okam's* logick, folio verſo, leaf 121, as follows;

S̃ hic ꝫ fal̃s m q̃d ad ſimplr̃ ⁊ e p̃ducibile a deo g̃ ⁊ &slr̃ hic añ ꝫ g̃ añ ꝫ p̃ducibile a deo &c. which words printed at full length, will run thus; *Sicut hic eſt fallacia ſecundum quid ad ſimpliciter, A eſt producibile a deo. Ergo A eſt, & ſimiliter hic. A non eſt, ergo non eſt producibile a deo.* Vide Chevil p. 110.

Theſe abbreviations were grown in time ſo numerous and univerſal, that books were oblig'd to be publiſh'd to teach the method of reading and underſtanding them.

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nience, and ſet them quite aſide in his editions. But becauſe the printing the words at length would enlarge the volumes a fourth part, (for there was ſcarce one word in five that was not abridg'd) and encreaſe the price; he reſolv'd likewiſe to remedy that. To which end he invented the *Italick* character, call'd from him *Aldine*, or *Curſivus* and *Cancellarius*, from its reſemblance to hand-writing; which by its figure and cloſeneſs, gain'd as much upon the round Roman, as the abbreviations did, and reduc'd the volume to near an exact bulk, thereby rendering them abſolutely uſeleſs. This is the main, tho' not the ſole advantage, which he propos'd by this new character; for the world has ſince found its extraordinary uſefulneſs in many other reſpects; which being obvious to every perſon, I ſhall not particulariſe here, but mention only the agreeableneſs of a mixture of Roman and Italick. However, it muſt be own'd, that *Aldus* made too great uſe of the latter, in printing whole volumes in that character, which is known to tire the eyes much more than the Roman. Upon this account ſeveral eminent Printers afterwards rejected it in their quotations, when they were of any conſiderable length, and ſubſtituted Double comma's or Guillemets at one end of the lines, to diſtinguiſh the citations from the body of the book: which Guillemets were ſo call'd from their Inventor, a *French* Printer of that name.

To return to *Aldus*; as ſoon as he had perfected this new character, which muſt neceſſarily coſt him prodigious ſumms of money, he obtain'd a privilege from three ſeveral Popes, for the ſole uſe of them during the ſpace of *fifteen* years; and theſe pontifs give him great encomiums upon the account of this invention. The firſt of theſe was granted him by *Alexander* VI, and is dated *Sept.* 17 1502, with the following preface[1].

„ For as much as our beloved ſon *Aldus Manucius Romanus* hath, for the
„ common benefit of the learned, invented a new ſett of characters, and
„ been at vaſt pains and charges in correcting and printing of books, —
„ and is afraid leſt ſome thro' envy or emulation ſhould get patterns

[1] Quoniam dilectus filius noſter *Aldus Manucius Romanus* ad communem doctorum utilitatem, novis excogitatis characterum formis, aſſiduam operam libris emendandis imprimendiſque impendit, magnoſque in ea re labores ſumptuſque facit, vereturque ne inſurgente invidia æmulationeque excitata, aliqui, ſumpto de ejus characteribus exemplo, ad eandem formam libros imprimant, deque alterius invento novum ſibi lucrum quærant; ideo nobis fecit humiliter ſupplicari, *&c.*

„ of his characters and print with them, thereby reaping the benefit of „ another man's invention; he hath therefore humbly beſought us, *&c.* „

He obtain'd the like privilege from Pope *Julius* II, within four months after the firſt, *viz. Jan.* 27 1503, which begins thus; „ For as much „ as thou—— haſt been at the pains to print with ſuch diligence and ele- „ gancy, within theſe few years, and for the common benefit of all the „ learned, many *greek* and *latin* volumes, corrected and revis'd with the „ utmoſt care and diligence, in thoſe new characters, which are vulgar- „ ly known by the name of *Curſivi* and *Cancellarii*, and are ſo beauti- „ ful as to ſeem written by hand, *&c.*

His ſucceſſor *Leo* X, likewiſe granted him a brief to the ſame purpoſe within ten months after, expreſly prohibiting any perſon to print in or imitate that character during the ſpace of *fifteen* years[1].

'Tis apparent from the tenour of theſe briefs, that this Italick character was not the only particular, wherein *Aldus* ſignaliz'd himſelf; for the number and correctneſs of his editions, with the beauty of his characters, gain'd him the eſteem and admiration of the learned; nor need I tell the reader how highly all his works have been valued ever ſince, as well as thoſe of his ſon *Paulus Manucius*, of his ſon-in-law *Andreas Azolanus*, and his grandſon *Aldus*; which are of equal merit with his own, and of equal value. His ambition of being eſteem'd not only a man of letters, (as he really was,) but alſo the moſt correct Printer of the age, was ſuch, that he ſpar'd no coſt in procuring the beſt MSS, nor labour in reviſing them; and his care was ſo great, leſt any errors ſhould eſcape him either in the MS. or proofs, that, as we are aſſur'd by *Angel. Roccha*, keeper of the *Vatican* library, he would not allow himſelf to print above two ſheets in a week[2]. But this muſt be underſtood only of ſuch works, as re-

[1] Cum tu —— Græcorum & Latinorum auctorum volumina ſumma cura & diligentia caſtigata, a paucis annis, ad communem omnium litteratorum utilitatem, characteribus, quos vulgus *Curſivos* ſeu *Cancellarios* appellas, imprimi tam diligenter & pulchre curaveris, ut calamo conſcripta eſſe videantur, *&c.*

[2] Ne per ſpatium quindecim annorum iis characteribus, quos ipſe invenit vel edidit primus, imprimere —— neve characteres, quos *Curſivos* ſeu *Cancellarios* appellant, imitari præſumant, *&c.*

[3] Audivi ab iis qui cum eo verſati ſunt —— duo ad ſummum folia ſingula quaque hebdomada imprimi ſolere; cum hodie totidem fere in ſingulo quoque prælo quotidie cudantur. *Ang. Roc. de bibliotheca Vaticana*, pag. 412.

quir'd

quir'd a more than ordinary diligence and application; otherwiſe it were difficult to reconcile this with what *Aldus* ſays in his preface to *Euripides ann.* 1503 [1], that he publiſh'd ſome good author every month, of which he printed above a *thouſand* copies; or with what *Eraſmus* ſays of him in his proverbs [2]; that he was erecting a library, whoſe limits would be thoſe of the world it ſelf. However that be, his accuracy and diligence is unqueſtionably atteſted by all the learned; and he tells Pope *Leo* X, in his petition beforemention'd, that the height of his ambition was to preſent the world with authors, corrected with the utmoſt exactneſs; and that nothing was more mortifying to him, than to ſee any faults in his impreſſions, *every one of which he would gladly, if poſſible, have redeem'd at the price of a crown of gold* [3]. What aſſiſtance he had from the learned in correcting his books may be gather'd from his preface to the *Greek* edition of *Ariſtotle*'s *Logick*, where he aſſures us, *that he had ſome of the ableſt criticks with him, to aſſiſt in the correction*; and in the preface to the *phyſicks* of that philoſopher, he boaſts, *that his impreſſions were more perfect and correct than the very originals from which they were printed* [4].

But it muſt be own'd that the learned are far from granting him this laſt piece of merit, which he challenges; and ſome of them have objected, that he either printed them not according to the beſt manuſcripts, or corrected them by his own conjectures, or follow'd ſometimes too ſcrupulouſly thoſe which were faulty and imperfect. Upon this account *Eraſmus*, tho' a great friend of his, complains that *Michael Bentius*, who printed his proverbs, *had follow'd the corrupt editions of* Aldus *in the quotations from* Homer *and* Cicero [5]. The ſame author tells *John Betzemius*, in a letter ſent with a catalogue of his works, *that ſome of* Plutarch's *books were printed by* Aldus *after ſome very corrupt manuſcript* [6]. Yet he excu-

[1] Quandoquidem mille & amplius boni alicujus auctoris volumina ſingulo quoque menſe emittimus.

[2] *Aldus* bibliothecam molitur, cujus non alia ſepta ſunt quam ipſius orbis. *Eraſm. Chil.* 2. *Cent.* 1. *Prov.* 1.

[3] Sic doleo, ut, ſi poſſem, mutarem ſingula errata nummo aureo.

[4] Dicere queo, quicquid meo labore formis excuditur, ipſis exemplaribus longe correctius ac magis perfectum exire ex ædibus noſtris.

[5] Nam *Michael Bentius* contulit quædam loca a me citata ex Græco *Homero* ab *Aldo* excuſo, item ex *Cicerone Aldino*, cum *Aldina* ſint depravatiſſima. *Vita Eraſmi, Lugdun. Batav. in* 16°, pag. 173.

[6] Hoc unum erat incommodi, quod *Aldus* hoc opus excudit ſecundum exemplar multis locis depravatum. *Tom.* 1. *oper. Eraſm.*

ſes him in another letter[1], and lays the blame upon ſome *Pedagogue, whom* Aldus *intruſted with the care of ſome of the editions of ancient authors.* If this be fact, 'tis very much to be regretted, that ſo great a Printer, to whom the republick of learning is in all other reſpects ſo much oblig'd, ſhould be overſeen in a matter of ſuch importance. And this, in all probability, is the reaſon why he thus expreſſes his diſſatisfaction at his own editions, in the petition to the Pope beforemention'd; [2] *that he was ſo far from regarding the flatteries of ſome perſons, that he had not as yet publiſh'd one book, with which he could be ſatisfied*[2].

BESIDES this, he carries his complaints ſtill further, and inveighs loudly againſt two ſorts of men, who alone are capable of depriving the learned world of the benefit of printing, unleſs ſome ſpeedy ſtop be put to their wretched performances: the firſt are thoſe, who, notwithſtanding their notorious ignorance and incapacity, preſume to print any kind of books: the *ſecond* are the half learned editors, who not only venture upon publiſhing ancient authors, but likewiſe write notes and commentaries with their own corrections upon them. Thus was this great man concern'd to ſee the corruptions already crept into the Art, thro' the avarice of ſome, and ignorance of others; whilſt himſelf found by ſad experience, that all his care, as well as learning, was ſcarce ſufficient for ſuch a taſk. As no Printer ever ſurpaſs'd him in the latter, ſo none ever equall'd him in the former; for ſo indefatigable was he in that laborious province, that he ſcarce allow'd himſelf time to eat, ſleep, or attend his domeſtick affairs; and, which is ſtill more, was ſo regardleſs of his health, as to neglect thoſe pleaſures and recreations ſo neceſſary and conducive to the preſervation of it. The learned *Zuinger*, in his *Theatrum vitæ humanæ* p. 3713 of the *Baſil* edition 1604, tells us, that his mind was entirely engaged in the care of his Printing-houſe; that, as ſoon as he had order'd his other neceſſary affairs, he ſhut himſelf up in his ſtudy, where he employ'd himſelf in reviſing his *greek* and *latin* manuſcripts, reading the letters which he receiv'd from the learned out of all parts of the world, and writing

[1] Officina Veneta dedit nobis *Feſtum Pompeium* egregie depravatum; non inſimulo *Aldum*; ſolet ille tales operas alicui Pædagogo committere. Pag. 148, ſupradict. edit. *Lugdun. Batav.*

[2] Sed ego non credulus illis; nullum enim adhuc dedi librum, in quo mihi ipſi ſatisfecerim.

anſwers

anſwers to them. To prevent interruption by impertinent viſits, he caus'd the following inſcription to be plac'd over his cloſet door[1]; *Whoever you are,* Aldus *earneſtly intreats you to diſpatch your buſineſs, as ſoon as poſſible, and then depart; unleſs you come hither, like another* Hercules, *to lend him ſome friendly aſſiſtance; for here will be work ſufficient to employ you, and as many as enter this place.* Theſe words were afterwards borrow'd by the learned *Oporinus,* (who from a profeſſor of the *greek* tongue in the univerſity of *Baſil,* became one of the moſt eminent Printers, either of that city, or even of *Europe*;) and were ſet over his ſtudy door for the ſame intent.

ALDUS is affirm'd by many authors to have been the firſt who printed whole volumes in *greek,* particularly the learned *Henry Stephens,* aſſerts, both in the *Complaint of the Art of Printing* written by him, and in his epitaph upon *Aldus,* that he was the firſt Printer in that language[2]; and *Geſner* tells *Paul Manutius Aldus*'s ſon, in the 11th book of his Pandects, that if he is not miſtaken, there were no *greek* books printed before thoſe of his father, or at leaſt, not with equal beauty and correctneſs with his[3]. Tho' this is not ſtrictly true, as we ſhall immediately ſhew, yet as he was the greateſt Printer in *greek,* and inventor of a beautiful character, theſe and ſeveral other authors might eaſily attribute to him the firſt rank in this province. The firſt *greek* book was publiſh'd by him, *anno* 1494, as appears by the liſts, which the annaliſts give us of his works, and from what *Aldus* himſelf ſays, in his preface to *Stephanus de urbibus, anno* 1502[4], that he begun his firſt *greek* impreſſions in the year wherein the war in *Italy* commenc'd, *viz. anno* 1494, at the time of the expedition of *Charles* VIII king of *France* to ſeize upon the kingdom of *Naples.* Some writers, from a miſtaken paſſage in his preface to *Ariſtotle, anno* 1495, wherein he tells his patron Prince *Carpi,* that he preſents him with the prince of philoſophers, *Plato* excepted, now firſt printed and very correct, have thought

[1] Quiſquis es, rogat te *Aldus* etiam atque etiam, ut ſiquid eſt quod a ſe velis, perpaucis agas, deinde actutum abeas, niſi tanquam Hercules veneris ſuppoſiturus humeros; ſemper enim erit quod & tu agas, & quotquot huc attulerint pedes.

[2] Qui graphicis primus tradidit illa typis.

[3] Exemplaria Græca ante patrem tuum aut nulla, ni fallor, aut pauca, nec ea induſtria typis publicata ſunt.

[4] Eodem anno, quo vexari bello cœpit *Italia*, difficillimam hanc ego imprimendorum librorum provinciam accepi.

it

it to have been his firſt *greek* impreſſion; whereas he publiſh'd at leaſt *three* the year before. However 'tis plain he had printed no book in any language before *anno* 1494.

It appears from what has been ſaid in a former chapter concerning the *Lactantius* printed in the monaſtery of *Subiaco*, *anno* 1465, the *Gellius* at *Rome* 1469, and others, that ſeveral conſiderable fragments were printed in *greek* with no ſmall elegancy and correctneſs. But beſides theſe there were ſeveral editions in that language printed in divers cities of *Italy* ſome years before; the principal of which we ſhall mention.

The *firſt*, as yet known, is the *greek* grammar of *Conſtantine Laſcaris* 4to, revis'd by *Demetrius Cretenſis*, and printed by *Dionyſius Palaviſinus* at *Milan*, *anno* 1476, afterwards reprinted at *Venice* by *Leonard* of *Baſil*, *anno* 1488.

The next is the *greek* pſalter printed at *Venice*, *anno* 1486 by *Alexander* of *Crete* 4to, and *Homer*'s *Batrachomuomachia*, or battle between the frogs and mice 4to, at *Venice* by *Leonic* of *Crete* in the ſame year. But as theſe may be eſteem'd only preludes or eſſays in that language, we ſhall come to a more conſiderable edition, *viz.* that of *Homer*'s works in *greek*, which *B. Neril* caus'd to be printed at *Florence* in a large *folio*, *anno* 1488 by *Demetrius* of *Milan*, a native of *Crete*. This excellent work I have ſeen in the curious library of the learned Dr. *Mead*, and I dare affirm that whoever examines the whiteneſs and ſtrength of the paper, the fineneſs of the character, the elegant diſpoſition of the matter, the exact diſtance between the lines, the large margin, and in ſhort, the whole performance with its various ornaments, will eaſily own it a maſter-piece in that kind. There was likewiſe a fine edition of *Iſocrates* printed at *Milan* in *fol.* by *Henry German* and *Sebaſtian ex Pontremulo*, *anno* 1493, a year before any of *Aldus*'s impreſſions appear'd.

However, tho' he was not the firſt *greek* Printer, yet no perſon ever ſignaliz'd himſelf more in that province than he, nor equall'd him in beauty, correctneſs and number of editions. Concerning the beauty of his *greek* characters, of which he is ſaid to be the inventor, Mr. *Mattaire* tells us *pag.* 237, *Annal. Typogr.* that thoſe, in which he printed the *Pſalter*, *Æſop*, *Ariſtotle*, *Ariſtophanes*, &c. were ſomewhat larger, rounder, more beautiful and elegant, adorn'd with frequent ligatures, which added no ſmall

beauty

beauty to his *greek* editions, *&c.* Nor is this is the only particular, for which the learned world is ſo much oblig'd to him; ſince his deſigns reach'd ſtill farther, and were anſwer'd to his great ſatisfaction before his death, which happen'd *anno* 1515. He obſerv'd, with no ſmall regret, how much and how long the *Greek* tongue had been neglected; in order therefore to revive that noble language, and accuſtom the learned by degrees to read nothing but the originals, he reſolv'd to publiſh moſt of his books in *Greek* only. This ſucceeded ſo well, that the oldeſt men began to acquaint themſelves with it, and as many youths engaged in the ſtudy of that tongue, as of the *Latin*; which gave him ſuch ſenſible pleaſure, that he mentions it in ſeveral of his prefaces, and particularly in that prefix'd to *Ariſtotle*'s *Logic*, wherein he thus expreſſes himſelf[1]: „ In our „ days we may ſee many old gentlemen, who follow *Cato*'s example in „ learning the *Greek* tongue. For with reſpect to the youth, they equally „ apply themſelves to that, as to the *Latin*. Upon which account *Greek* „ books, of which there is now a prodigious ſcarcity, are come into very „ great requeſt, *&c.*„ In his preface to *Stephanus de urbibus* he obſerves with pleaſure[2], „ That *Italy* was not the only nation wherein the *Greek* „ tongue was in vogue; but that in *Germany*, *France*, *Hungary*, *Britain*, „ *Spain*, and almoſt every place, where the *Latin* was known, not only „ the young, but even the old ſtudy'd *Greek* with the utmoſt eagerneſs „ and application.

All his impreſſions were not of that nature; for in ſome of them, printed before and afterwards, as *Muſæus*, *Greek grammar*, *Proclus*'s *Sphæra*, the works of *Philoſtratus*, *Euſebius contra Hieroclem*, &c. he firſt gave the whole *Greek* text, and then the *Latin* tranſlation.

Soon after this, he invented a method, entirely new, of printing theſe *Greek* editions with their tranſlations, which I do not find practis'd by any Printer ſince.

[1] Noſtris vero temporibus multos licet videre *Catones*, hoc eſt, ſenes in ſenectute Græce diſcere. Nam adoleſcentulorum ac juvenum Græcis incumbentium jam tantus fere eſt numerus, quantus eorum qui Latinis. Propterea Græci libri vehementer ab omnibus inquiruntur, quorum quia mira paucitas eſt, *&c.*

[2] Nam non in *Italia* ſolum, ſed etiam in *Germania*, *Gallia*, *Pannonia*, *Britannia*, *Hiſpania*, & ubique fere, ubi Romana lingua legitur, non modo ab adoleſcentibus, juvenibuſque, ſed a ſenibus quoque ſumma aviditate ſtudetur literis Græcis.

They

THEY were impos'd after ſuch a manner, that the purchaſer might have them bound either with the *Greek* and *Latin* ſeparate, or with a leaf of the one, and a leaf of the other alternately; for inſtance, the *firſt* leaf was *Greek*, then follow'd the *firſt* in *Latin*, then the *ſecond Greek* leaf, and the *ſecond Latin*, and ſo on to the end; but with this precaution, that the *Greek* of the *firſt* leaf was only printed upon the *ſecond* page of it, and the *Latin* verſion oppoſite to it; the *Latin* upon the *ſecond* page of the *Latin* leaf was the verſion of the *Greek* upon the *firſt* page of the *third* leaf, and all the *Greek* upon the *ſecond* page of this leaf, fell exactly over againſt the *Latin* of it in the *firſt* page of the *fourth* or *ſecond Latin* leaf. This order being obſerv'd throughout, every other leaf being *Greek*, and the reſt *Latin*, it was eaſy either to bind it in two volumes, the one *Greek*, and the other *Latin*; or into one, with the original firſt, and verſion afterwards, oppoſite to each other.

BUT, as we remark'd before, this excellent method was never obſerv'd, not even by thoſe, who reprinted ſuch of *Aldus*'s editions, as had been done after this way; *viz.* *Eſop*'s and *Gabriel*'s fables, *Laſcaris*'s grammar, *&c.* for they printed the *Greek* in one page, and the *Latin* upon the other; which is vaſtly more inconvenient than his method; the manner of printing both languages in two columns not being invented 'till after the year 1550, *Vide Chevil.* pag. 238. I conceive there is no neceſſity of giving a more particular deſcription of *Aldus*'s *Greek* types, becauſe his works are ſo univerſally known to the curious; but whoever deſires to know further concerning them, and their ſuperior excellence to thoſe us'd before, may conſult Mr. *Mattaire*'s *Annals*, pag. 237.

ALDUS has been likewiſe ſuppos'd the firſt, or, at leaſt, one of the firſt, who printed in *Hebrew*. But this is certainly a miſtake; for, tho' he had a font of *Hebrew*, yet he made but little uſe of it; and 'tis evident, that the jews of *Soncino* in the duchy of *Milan* began to print books in that language about *twelve* or *fourteen* years before *Aldus* appear'd, as ſhall be ſhewn in its proper place. *Chevillier* p. 267 tells us, that he ſaw nothing of his in this tongue, but the *Hebrew* alphabet, which is ſtill preſerv'd in the *Sorbon* library. We find however, that he wrote and printed an introduction to the *Hebrew* tongue; as appears from a book printed by him, *ann.* 1501, intitled, *Aldi Manutii Grammaticæ Latinæ linguæ*

linguæ rudimenta; *de literis Græcis & Diphthongis*, &c. *ut & introductio ad Hebræam linguam*, 4to. Indeed *Juſtin Decadius* a *Grecian* and inhabitant of *Venice*, who caus'd the *Greek* pſalter to be printed by *Aldus* in 4to, flatters thoſe of his own nation, to whom he dedicates it, with a promiſe which that Printer made him, of printing an edition of the bible in *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*; but it is not known, that he ever perform'd it, at leaſt, with relation to the *Hebrew*.

BEFORE we cloſe the character of this great man, it will be proper to acquaint the reader with the reaſon of his aſſuming the name *Pius* after the year 1503; becauſe even this is another teſtimony of his merit. He receiv'd it from his patron prince *Albertus Pius de Carpi*, whoſe tutor he had formerly been, and who, on account of his ſingular deſert, adopted him into his family, and contributed large ſums towards defraying the charges of procuring and correcting manuſcripts, preparing three fonts, of *Italick*, *Greek* and *Hebrew*, characters, entertaining ſo many learned correctors, and ſuch a number of workmen, beſide the other charges common to every Printing-houſe. His chief correctors were *Peter Alcyonius*, *Demetrius Chalcondylas*, *Marcus Muſurus*, and *Alexander Bondinus*.

THE mark of his Printing-houſe, which ſhall be given, with the reſt of the marks or rebus's of the Printers of the 15th century, at the end of this book, was a dolphin twin'd about an anchor, and nibling at it; ſignifying his cloſe and indefatigable application to buſineſs, which he went through with deliberation and judgment. *Chevillier* tells us, that he took it from the emperor *Titus*; and that *Peter Bembus*, who was afterwards made a cardinal, preſented him with a ſilver medal, which had that emperor's head on one ſide, and on the reverſe, a dolphin twiſting himſelf round an anchor. This was likewiſe, according to ſome authors, the device of *Auguſtus* the emperor[1], the anchor being deſign'd to ſignify reſt, as lightning or the dolphin were to denote ſwiftneſs. Theſe *Titus* afterwards expreſs'd by the dolphin, ſignifying ſwiftneſs, and an anchor, deſign'd to ſtop the courſe of a ſhip, denoting ſlowneſs. *Aldus* himſelf ſeems to hint at this ſignification, when he tells prince *Carpi*, in his epiſtle dedicatory prefix'd to *Proclus*'s *Sphere*, *anno* 1499[2], that he could teſtify

[1] Σπεῦδε βραδέως *feſtina lente*.

[2] Sum ipſe mihi optimus teſtis me ſemper habere comites, ut oportere aiunt, delphinum & anchoram; nam & dedimus multa cunctando, & damus aſſidue.

for himſelf with the greateſt ſincerity, that he had always thoſe two companions with him, which they ſay are ſo neceſſary, *viz.* the dolphin and anchor, and publiſh'd many things with deliberation, and yet without intermiſſion. His ſon *Paul*, who was Printer to the *Vatican*, his ſon-in-law *A. de Azola*, and his grandſon *Aldus* us'd the ſame mark.

SOME vile Printers of *Florence*, finding the impoſſibility of equalling *Aldus*'s editions, reſolv'd to counterfeit them as well as his rebus, and carry'd on the cheat for ſome time, 'till it was diſcover'd by means of a miſtake committed by the engraver, who revers'd the dolphin, ſo that his head was on the left ſide of the anchor, whereas in *Aldus*'s mark it was on the right. Whether his ſon-in-law *Andreas de Azola* firſt perceiv'd this difference, I will not affirm; but he firſt gave publick notice of it, to prevent the world's being any longer impos'd upon. This paſſage in the preface to his *Livy* in 8vo *anno* 1518, is given at full length in the margin [1]. I am ſenſible that in this ſketch of the hiſtory of that Printer, I have exceeded in many caſes my propos'd limits; yet, I hope, the worth and character of the perſon will ſufficiently excuſe me for not keeping too ſcrupulouſly to our epocha.

THE works, which we have of him, from 1494 to 1500, are in number twenty four; fourteen of which are *Greek*, and the reſt *Latin*, or *Latin* and *Greek*.

THE reader may eaſily perceive, how ſhort this liſt comes of the number, which we might have reaſonably expected from ſo induſtrious a Printer, within the ſpace of ſix or ſeven years; eſpecially conſidering, that as himſelf aſſures us, he publiſh'd an author every month, which amounts to almoſt four times our number. Whether the reſt are periſh'd, or are ſtill latent in ſome libraries, I ſhall not determine, but am willing to hope the latter, and that time will by degrees bring them to light.

HOWEVER he ſtill continued printing many years after the cloſe of the century, and took his father-in-law *Andreas de Azola* [in *Latin Azola-*

[1] Extremum eſt ut admoneamus, *Florentinos* quoſdam impreſſores, cum viderint diligentiam noſtram in caſtigando & imprimendo non poſſe aſſequi, ad artes confugiſſe ſolitas, hoc eſt grammaticis inſtitutionibus *Aldi* in ſua officina formatis, notam delphini anchoræ involuti noſtram appoſuiſſe; ſed ita egerunt, ut quivis mediocriter verſatus in libris impreſſionis noſtræ animadvertat illos imprudenter feciſſe. Nam roſtrum delphini in partem ſiniſtram vergit, cum tamen noſtrum in dexteram totum demittatur.

nus]

nus] in partnerſhip with him. As to the time of his death, or any particulars of it, I have not been able to diſcover any thing certain; I ſhall therefore conclude his hiſtory with a remark or two concerning an edition of his, which I hope will not be diſagreeable to the reader: it is that of *Poliphili hypnerotomachia*, written by *Franciſcus Columna*, to prove that all the world is but a dream; wherein he relates many things worth learning: it has been ſuppos'd to be printed at *Treviſo*, *anno* 1467, becauſe at the end are the following words; *Tarviſii cum decoriſſimis Poliæ amore lorulis diſtineretur miſellus Poliphilus*, MCCCCLXVII *kalendis Maii*, *i. e.* when the unfortunate *Poliphilus* was in love with the charming *Polia*, 1467.

THIS they thought to have been the year, when the book was printed; whereas *Mattaire* and *Orlandi* obſerve, that the words plainly demonſtrate it to be the year, in which *Colonna* finiſh'd it. Beſides, it is evident from the character, the regiſters, direction-words, comma's, interrogatory points, and other particularities, as well from the laſt leaf, which contains the errata, and concludes thus, *Venetiis menſe Decembri* MID *in ædibus Aldi Manutii accuratiſſimé*, that this edition came out from *Aldus*'s preſs. However, *Orlandi* tells us, that this leaf was deſignedly torn off, becauſe there is no date of the year, in which it was printed; but Mr. *Mattaire* gives us an account of theſe errata *pag.* 255, which bore this title, *Gli errori del libro fatti ſtampando, liquali corrige coſi*: then follows the errata containing fifty nine full lines, a greater number than *Aldus* ever put at the end of his works. After the errata are the *Latin* words abovementi-on'd, *Venetiis*, &c. 'Tis plain from this, that 1467 was the year, in which the author finiſh'd it at *Treviſo*, and the date of the edition, 1499. With reſpect to the author's name, *Orlandi* deduceth it from the initial letters of each chapter, which being joyn'd together form theſe words, *Poliam frater Franciſcus Columna peramavit*. *Orland.* pag. 57, 58.

THE remainder of the *Venetian* Printers to *ann.* 1500 are as follows.

96. ANTONY MORETUS of *Breſcia* and
97. JEROM *de Alexandria* } 1 edit. 1495.
98. ANTONY ZANCHI or *de Zanchis*, 1 edit. 1497.
99. OTINUS *della Luna* of *Pavia*, 3 edit. from 1497 to 1499.
100. JOHN ALVYSIUS *de Vareſio Milaneſe*, 1 edit. 1498.

101. BARTHOL. JUSTINOPOLITANUS,
102. GABRIEL *de Briſighella*,
103. JOHN BISSOLI,
104. BENEDICT MANGI of *Carpi*,

WE have but two editions of theſe four partners, *viz. Phalaris Epiſtles* 4to 1498, and *Æſop*'s life and fables 4to 1500, both in *Greek:* the former of theſe editions has a privilege from the ſenate of *Venice*, for their ſole printing of it during the ſpace of ten years; and an epiſtle of *Bartholomew Juſtinopolitan* to *Contarenus* a ſenator of *Venice*, wherein he complains of the great abuſes, which were crept into the Art of Printing; and the diſadvantages thence ariſing to the common wealth of learning, thro' the ignorance and negligence of Printers, which encreas'd every day among them: he ſeems therefore rather to have been an editor than a Printer, and to have hir'd the other three to print in partnerſhip with him.

105. ANTONY *de Guzzago* of *Breſcia*, 1 edit. 1498.

106. SEBASTIAN MANILIUS a Roman and partners, 1 edit. 1499.

107. JOHN BAPT. SESSA of *Milan*, 2 edit. 1499.

108. ZACHARIAH CALIERGI of *Crete*; he was a very eminent Printer of *Greek:* we have two editions of his, both of 1499, *viz. Simplicius Comment.* upon *Ariſtotle*'s *Cathegorics fol.* and *Etymologicum magnum, fol.* in *Greek*, the laſt of theſe printed at the deſire of a *Conſtantinopolitan* lady: he remov'd to *Rome*, and printed there till *ann.* 1523 if not beyond; and the *Lexicon Varini* was printed by him in that year.

109. LUCANTONIUS *de Giunta* or *Zunta* of *Florence*, 1500.

ALL the Printers of this name [*de Giunta* or *Zunta*] have been perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſh'd merit for their performances at *Rome*, *Florence*, *Lyons* and *Venice*; their common rebus or mark was the *flower-de-luce*, and ſometimes the *eagle*. The firſt of that name is this *Lucantonius Giunta*, a man of noble extract, who employ'd *John de Spira* to print for him at *Venice*.

WHETHER this *Spira* was a ſon or grandſon of one of the two brothers, who firſt brought the Art to this city, is uncertain. However, the *Giunta's* ſignaliz'd themſelves in that Art, 'till the middle of the ſixteenth century. The following edition is the only one, we know of, printed by him before the cloſe of this century, *viz. Regulæ ſancti* Benedicti,

dicti, *ſancti* Baſilii, *ſanct.* Auguſtini & Franciſci; *collectæ atque ordinatæ per* D. J. Franc. Brixianum *monachum congregationis S.* Juſtinæ *ordinis S.* Benedicti *de obſervantia*, 4to, *cura & impenſis nobilis viri* Luc. Antonii *de* Giunta Florentini, *arte & ſolerti ingenio magiſtri* Johannis *de* Spira, *idibus April.* Venetiis. Some of the impreſſions of *Matthew Capcaſa* at *Venice*, 1482, are ſaid in the colophon to be printed at the deſire of *Lucant. Zunta.*

109, NICHOLAS BLASTI, one *Greek* edition dated 1500.

110. ALBERTINE VERCELLENSIS, 1 edit. dated 1500.

THESE are all the Printers hitherto known to have wrought at *Venice*, from the time of its receiving the Art, to the year 1500, but there were many more, who, as was hinted before, made a trade of reprinting ſome of the beſt editions in a ſlovenly incorrect manner, and to underſell the good ones; for which reaſon, they did not dare to ſet their names to them. Father *Orlandi* gives us a liſt of 90 of them done at *Venice* during that interval, the greateſt part of which, I am apt to ſuſpect, are of that ſorry kind.

CHAP. V.

Of the three firſt Printers at Paris, *and their Succeſſors; the Encouragement which they met with; ſome Account of the Books printed by them; with other Particulars. A ſecond Printing-houſe ſet up in the* Louvre *by King* Lewis XI. *The reſt of the* Paris *Printers.*

WHOEVER deſires a compleat account of the firſt ſettlement, progreſs and improvement of the Art of Printing, in the city and univerſity of *Paris*, the metropolis of *France*, will find that ſubject copiouſly treated of by *De la Caille* in his *Origine de l'imprimerie* printed *anno* 1689, and more particularly by *Chevillier* in his *Origine de l'Imprimerie* printed at *Paris*, *anno* 1694.

THESE

THESE two authors have chiefly confin'd their hiſtory to that kingdom; and, as they had all poſſible opportunities of ſearching the records and libraries of that univerſity, have been enabled to acquaint the world with a vaſt many particularities relating as well to the Art, as to the moſt eminent Printers there. But ſince an induction of them would ſwell this work to too great a bulk, I ſhall ſelect the moſt curious and material parts, and refer the reader for the reſt to the authors before mention'd. Sufficient reaſons, I hope, are already given, againſt the opinion of thoſe, who, contrary to all the moſt inconteſtable records, aſſert that *Nich. Jenſon* firſt brought printing to *Paris*. This particular is further confirm'd by the two laſt mention'd *French* hiſtorians, whoſe account of that matter is as follows.

SOME time before the year 1470, *William Fichet* and *John Heynlim de Lapide* or *Lapidanus*, two famous doctors of the univerſity of *Paris*, and of the college of *Sorbon*, obſerving the progreſs of printing in ſeveral cities of *Europe*, began to uſe their utmoſt efforts in order to introduce it not only into that city, but even into their college, where they might give it all neceſſary help and encouragement. They were both perſons of great reputation for their learning and publick ſpirit. The former was a *Savoyard* by birth, and a great reſtorer of the long neglected art of rhetorick, and all polite literature. The latter was a *German*, and had been rector of the univerſity, and prior of the college of *Sorbon*, to which laſt dignity, he was choſen again about this time. As there were then but few, if any, except *Germans*, eminent in printing, *Lapidanus* undertook to bring ſome of the moſt ſkilfull thither. This could not but ſeem eaſily attainable by him, who had ſuch a numerous acquaintance amongſt the learned in *Germany*, and is ſuppos'd, upon good grounds, to have been of the ſame dioceſs, if not the ſame city with *Uldric Gering*, a native of *Conſtance*. The latter being influenc'd by the kind invitations of a perſon of ſuch eſteem, who promis'd him the college of *Sorbon* for his abode, and his aſſiſtance in procuring and preparing manuſcripts, and reviſing his editions; and allur'd by the hopes of conſiderable gain in ſo rich a city, wherein the Art was yet unpractis'd, brought two other countrymen with him, *viz. Martin Crantz* and *Michael Friburger* or *de Columbaria* or *Colmar* in *Alſace*, to *Paris*; where he ſet up preſſes in the hall

hall of *Sorbon*, and in the year 1470 publiſh'd the firſt book, that ever was printed in any city of *France*, except that of *Tours* mention'd in a former chapter. Father *Orlandi* tells us, that *Lewis* XI gave *Fitchet* and *Lapidanus* orders to ſend for ſome of the beſt Printers to *Paris*, at his own charge; and that by this means the three *German* partners were induc'd to ſettle there. *Chevillier* takes no notice of this, but attributes the honour wholly to the *Sorboniſts*. However, it is certain that this king was a great encourager of learning; as appears by the magnificent library which he form'd at his palace in *Paris*; whither he brought not only all the books, which his predeceſſors, and in particular *Charles* V ſirnam'd the wiſe, and *Charles* VI had collected and ſet up at *Fountainbleau*, but likewiſe all that he could purchaſe at any rate, together with a great number of editions printed at *Mentz* by *Fauſt* and *Schoeffer*; and what manuſcripts he could not purchaſe, he order'd to be curiouſly tranſcrib'd, and to be ſet up there. A remarkable inſtance of this, mention'd by the *French* writers, is as follows.

The king underſtanding that the college of phyſicians at *Paris* had in their library the works of *Rhaſis* a phyſician, tranſlated out of *Arabick* into *Latin*, ſent to borrow it, in order to have it tranſcrib'd; but the college repreſenting it as againſt their conſtitutions to lend any of their books without a ſufficient pledge; his majeſty was contented to obtain the uſe of it, by depoſiting a large quantity of his own plate. Whether therefore the king or the two doctors brought the firſt Printers to *Paris*, 'tis beyond doubt, that he gave them ſufficient encouragement, and acceſs to the library at the *Louvre*, with liberty to print from any of thoſe volumes, in the choice of which, it is probable, they were directed by their two patrons.

As the Art was then in its infancy at *Paris*, their firſt editions were in a large round Roman character but greatly inferior in beauty to that of their contemporaries in *Italy*; their paper was ſmooth and ſtrong, tho' leſs white; their impreſſions were maim'd and imperfect, with letters and words half printed, and finiſh'd with a pencil; the inſcription and title of ſome epiſtles, and the large initial letters of books and chapters were done with the hand, for which a blank was left in the page; they had no capitals, nor regular ſpaces, but were full of abbreviations; in ſhort,

there

there was nothing to recommend them except the newneſs, and the beauty of the ink. They us'd few rubricks, and thoſe only upon vellum; ſome of their books begin at the *folio verſo*, or even page; and all of them are without titles, number of pages, ſignatures or direction-words; they us'd no ſignatures 'till the year 1476, and then plac'd them not at the bottom, but at the top of the pages; they added neither date, nor names of Printer and place; all which are only to be gathered from the prefaces, or epigrams at the end, or ſome other circumſtances, as will appear from the liſt of their works, eſpecially of thoſe printed in the three firſt years 1470, 1471, and 1472. It is certainly very ſurpriſing, that neither *Gering* nor his two learned patrons, who muſt infallibly have ſeen ſome of the *Italian* editions, eſpecially thoſe of *Rome* and *Venice*, which had all theſe neceſſary ornaments, ſhould not make them ſenſible of their deficiencies in all thoſe reſpects. However, ſo few were the elegant Printers in thoſe days, that the learned men of *Paris*, who eſteem'd the Art of more conſequence than theſe embelliſhments, fail'd not to acknowledge their obligation to the *Sorbon* doctors, for the ſervices they had done to the univerſity in ſettling the Printers there, upon whom they were equally liberal of their encomiums. Enough of theſe may be ſeen in *Chevillier* pag. 41, *& ſeq.* I ſhall only cite in the margin an epigram printed at the end of *Gaſpar Pergamenſis*'s epiſtles, which was their firſt impreſſion, and had prefix'd to it a letter of thanks to thoſe great men, upon their bringing the Art to that city.

THE epigram[1] is addreſs'd to the city of *Paris*, and ſufficiently ſhews not only that this edition was the firſt fruits of the Art both in that city and kingdom, againſt thoſe who aſcribe that honour to *Jenſon*; but likewiſe that the *Pariſians* congratulated themſelves for their ſucceſs in introducing it thither, ſince it gave the univerſity an abſolute authority over

[1] Ut ſol lumen, ſic doctrinam fundis in orbem,
Muſarum nutrix regia, *Pariſius*.
Hinc prope divinam tu, quam *Germania* novit,
Artem ſcribendi, ſuſcipe promerita.
Primos ecce libros, quos hæc iuduſtria finxit
Francorum in terris, ædibus atque tuis.
Michael Uldaricus, Martinuſque magiſtri
Hos impreſſerunt, ac facient alios.

all

all Printers and bookſellers, in the *ſeven* following particulars, mention'd by *Chevillier* pag. 327, *viz.*

1. THAT all the Printers and bookſellers of *Paris*, after the firſt ſettlement of printing there, have ſtill continued in their former ſtate, that is, been eſteem'd as agents and ſervants to that univerſity.

2. THAT they are oblig'd to take the oaths to the rector of it.

3. THAT they are not allow'd to follow that buſineſs 'till the univerſity has judg'd them qualify'd for it.

4. THAT the univerſity exerciſes their juriſdiction over them by ſummoning them to appear, *&c.* by fining, puniſhing and depoſing them for any miſdemeanor.

5. THAT the edicts and ordinances of the king impower that body to viſit and ſearch all Printing-houſes, ware-houſes for books, and bookſellers ſhops, *&c.*

6. THAT the univerſity ſet a price upon their books, which was affix'd to their catalogues, and plac'd in ſome conſpicuous part of their ſhops, leſt any perſon might be impos'd on by them. This part of their province they exerted, long before the Art of Printing was diſcover'd, over all tranſcribers, illuminators, bookſellers, *&c.*

7. LASTLY, that the bookſellers, *&c.* ſhould ſell no books of religion, *&c.* 'till they had been examin'd and approv'd by the univerſity, or, at leaſt, by the faculty of doctors of divinity.

WE ſhall ſhew in the third book of this hiſtory, that the univerſity of *Oxford* had the ſame authority over the Printers and bookſellers of that city.

TO return to our three Printers, they continued printing but three years at the houſe of the *Sorbon*; after which one of their patrons, *Fichet* being invited to *Rome* by Pope *Sixtus* IV, and the other intending ſoon after to return to *Germany*, they remov'd to St. *James*'s-*ſtreet*, at the ſign

of the *Golden Sun*. Upon this they immediately rejected all their old punches, matrices and letters, and furniſh'd themſelves with ſome entirely new, and printed ſeveral conſiderable volumes 'till the year 1477; at which time *Crantz* and *Friburger* either return'd into *Germany*, or, at leaſt, left off printing, for there is no edition with their names after that year; but *Gering* printed in his own name many years longer, as ſhall be ſhewn in its place. In the mean time, it will be proper to give the reader an account of this new ſet of characters, which they made uſe of in their new houſe.

'Tis to be obſerv'd, that they were of three or four ſorts, all different from each other, and from thoſe us'd at the houſe of the *Sorbon*, and caſt in new matrices. One ſort is vaſtly inferior to their former, and reſembles the hand-writing of that time, but ſuch as was done (*ſtannea manu*, as *Aldus* expreſſes it) with a heavy hand.

It is not, however, altogether Gothic, but rather like that which *Schoeffer* us'd at *Mentz*. Another ſort was not unlike this in ſhape, but of a much larger face. The *third* was a Roman much more round and fine than the two former; but the *fourth* ſort, not us'd by *Gering* 'till after the year 1478, that is, after his partners had left him, is a very beautiful, large Roman, which (if we may believe *Chevillier*, who ſaw and compar'd them) is in no caſe inferior to that of the *Spira*'s, *Jenſon*, or any other of the famous *Venetian* and *French* Printers, either before or ſince. Thus *Gering* attain'd to a degree of perfection equal with any of his brethren; but was at laſt oblig'd to comply with the cuſtom, and print ſeveral books in Gothic, ſuch as *Virgil* and ſome others, beſides thoſe for the uſe of churches. The editions printed at this houſe, and in theſe new characters, are ſtill defective with reſpect to their dates or Printers names, ſome wanting the one, ſome the other, and ſome both, as appears by the liſt of his works given us by the forementioned author, *anno* 1480. *Gering* took into partnerſhip with him for ſome time, *William Maynyal*; and in the year 1483 remov'd from St. *James*'s-*ſtreet*, and took a leaſe, during life, of a houſe belonging to the college of *Sorbon*, where he ſet up his old ſign of the *Golden-ſun*. As he was now become very rich, and had contracted an intimate friendſhip with the *Sorbon* collegians, he made them ſome conſiderable donatives both in books

and

and money; upon which account they choſe him fellow of that college, and aſſign'd him chambers and commons in it: and as he was not engag'd in matrimony, he took the more pleaſure in converſing with them, communicating his deſigns, and uſing their advice about the books which he was to print, and their aſſiſtance in correcting them; in return for which he preſented them with copies of all his editions. It was no ſmall advantage to that college (which was call'd at firſt by the founder *Robert Sorbon*, *Societas pauperum magiſtrorum Pariſiis in theologica facultate ſtudentium*) to have ſo generous a friend and benefactor admitted into it; who requited them for this honour with vaſt legacies, left by him in his will to this college, and that of *Montague* in the ſame city. For by his ſucceſs in printing 'till *anno* 1510, in which he died, he had amaſs'd a prodigious quantity of wealth, all which he bequeath'd to thoſe two colleges. What he endow'd the *Sorbon* in particular with, was ſufficient to maintain *eight* fellows, to be added to thoſe on the old foundation, and two lectures every day, one in the morning for the Old, and another in the afternoon for the New Teſtament; beſides ſeveral other donatives to thoſe of the houſe whom he had a particular eſteem for.

Now conſidering, that he was the firſt Printer of that city and kingdom; that he was invited thither by the college of *Sorbon*; that he had been ſo great a maſter of his art, and ſo liberal to that poor ſociety in his life-time, and after his death; the reader may perhaps expect to hear of ſome monument erected by them to his memory: but 'tis plain from what *Chevillier*, a fellow of that college, tells us, that they did not ſo much as ſet a grave-ſtone over him, to let the world know where that great man was bury'd; ſo that our laſt mention'd author, after a vaſt deal of pains, could not gain the leaſt certainty about it. However, to do them juſtice, they order'd an anniverſary-maſs to be ſaid on the 23d of *Auguſt*, on which he dy'd. Who his correctors were, is difficult to determine; but it is probable he made uſe of any of the collegians, whom he pleas'd. He had ſome other partners beſides *Maynyal* beforementi-on'd, and inſtructed ſeveral Printers, who ſignaliz'd themſelves both during his life and after he dy'd. There were likewiſe divers other Printing-houſes ſet up at *Paris* ſoon after his, of which we ſhall ſpeak, when we have given ſome further account of his works; *Chevillier* in his liſt of

them divides them into three claſſes, *viz.* thoſe which he printed with his two partners in the college from 1470 to 1473; next thoſe printed at the *Golden Sun* in St. *James*'s-*ſtreet* 'till *anno* 1483; and *laſtly*, thoſe which he printed from that time 'till his death, either by himſelf or with his other partners. Of the firſt claſs there are *eleven* editions ſtill extant all printed in the ſame character, ſome of the firſt of which have epiſtles affix'd and inſcrib'd by *Fichet* above-nam'd, to ſeveral princes and prelates, and are dated 1470 and 1471; one of which, to cardinal *Beſſarion*, has the following, *Ædibus Sorbonæ ſcriptum, impreſſumque uno anno & ſeptuageſimo quadringenteſimo ſupra milleſimum:* thoſe of the *ſecond* claſs are 23 in number: and ſixteen of the *third* claſs, excluſive of thoſe, which he printed after the year 1500: all which the reader will find either in *Chevillier* or Mr. *Mattaire*. *Gering*'s laſt work is dated 1508, which ſhews that he left off printing two years before he dyed: for his death did not happen 'till *anno* 1510, *Aug.* 23. The next Printing-houſe, to that of the three *Germans* laſt ſpoken of, was ſet up by,

4. Peter Cæsaris and 5. John Stol, 1473.

These two Printers were likewiſe natives of *Germany*, but had already ſtudied ſometime in the univerſity of *Paris*, where the former had attain'd to the degree of maſter of arts: theſe two became acquainted with their countryman *Gering*, and inform'd him of their deſign of ſetting up a Printing-houſe, begging his aſſiſtance and inſtructions therein, which he readily granted: and thus was the ſecond Preſs ſet up at *Paris* by theſe two learned perſons, who became ſoon after, no leſs famous, for their induſtry and application, than they had been for their learning. They pitch'd upon one of the houſes, belonging to the college of *Sorbon*, to print in, which *Chevillier* tells us, was in St. *James*'s-*ſtreet* at the ſign of the *Soldier* and *Swan:* their character was ſhort of the beauty of *Uldric Gering*, tho' far from being of the Gothic kind; this may be one reaſon why a great many of their works are loſt: they were likewiſe guilty of neglecting to affix either their names or dates to their works: ſo that the former is only to be gather'd from the likeneſs of the character to their

other

other works, that are printed in their names, and the latter is either ſupply'd by ſome circumſtance, or wholly gueſs'd at.

THEIR firſt work is ſuppos'd to be the *Speculum Zamoræ*, which tho' printed without date, yet is known to have come out *anno* 1473 by the epigram at the end: one of their fineſt impreſſions is that of *Ocham's* decalogue, which *Naudeus* thought to have been done by *Gering*, but *Chevillier* who has compar'd them with other of their works, aſſures them to have been printed by them: we have but ten editions of theirs from 1473 to 1500: but they continu'd printing beyond that time eſpecially *Cæſaris*. The next *Paris* Printer was,

6. PETER CARON, of whom we have but one edition dated 1474.

7. PASQUIER BON-HOMME 1475, he printed the chronicle of *France*, and that of St *Dennis* in three volumes *fol. a ſcarce book*, and the only one we have left of him, it is dated 1475.

8. ANTHONY VERARD, 1480.

HE was one of the moſt conſiderable Printers and bookſellers of his time, and very eminent for the curioſity and number of his ditions. The greateſt part of his books conſiſt in romances and the like, printed in a Gothic character, but ſo elegant as to pleaſe the eye extremely. Many of them are printed upon fine vellum; *La Caille* tells us, that there are above an hundred volumes of his romances printed curiouſly on vellum, embelliſh'd with exquiſite miniatures or ſmall cutts, painted in water colours, in imitation of the manuſcripts which he printed after, all which are to be ſeen in the French king's library. However, tho' he engag'd moſt in romantick pieces, yet he likewiſe publiſh'd ſeveral learned volumes, all in *French*, with equal care and beauty, in the ſame Gothic letter.

HE kept his Printing-houſe and ſhop upon the bridge of *Nôtre Dame* at the ſign of St. *John* the *Evangeliſt*. Sometimes he ſubſcribes his books only with the firſt letters of his name, A. V. His mark is enclos'd with four *French* verſes in a pious ſtrain: the reader will find them in the margin [1]. Whatever is become of the great number of his editions, ſome of

[1] Pour provoquer ta grand miſericorde
A tout pecheur faire Grace & Pardon
Antoine Verard humblement te recorde
Tout ce qu'il a, il fient de toy pardon.

which

which were printed by the *French* king *Charles* VIII's order, I can find no more in *Orlandi*'s liſt than 32, from 1480 to 1500.

THE reſt of the *Paris* Printers are as follows,

9. NICHOLAS *de Philippis* and
10. MARK REYNHARD *de Strasburgh*, } WHERE they printed in partnerſhip before they came to *Paris*: we have but one edition of theirs dated 1482.

11. ANTONY CAYLLAUT and
12. LEWIS MARTINEAU, } we have 4 edit. of theirs from 1483 to 1492.

13. GUIDO MERCANT, 10 edit. from 1483 to 1499.

14. GEORGE MITTLH or *Mittelh*, 2 edit. from 1484 to 1489.

15. DENNIS JANNOT, 1 edit. 1484.

16. ROBINET MACE, 1 edit. 1486.

17. JOHN BONHOME, who was alſo a bookſeller, 3 edit. from 1486 to 1489.

18. PETER LEVET, 5 edit. from 1487 to 1497.

19. JOHN CARCHAGNI, 1 edit. 1489.

20. PETER ROUGE the king's Printer, 3 edit. from 1487 to 1488.

21. JOHN DUPRE, 1 edit. 1488: he went to *Lyons* ſoon after.

22. PHILIP PIGOUCHET, 3 edit. from 1489 to 1500.

23. WOLFGANG HOPYL *German* and
24. JOHN HIGMAN, } 4 edit. from 1489 to 1498.

THE former of theſe became afterwards partner of the great *Henry Stephens*.

25. MICHAELLE NOIR, 1 edit. 1489.

26. DURANT GERLIER, 1 edit. 1489.

27. JAMES MAILET, 1 edit. 1491.

28. GEORGE WOLF of *Baden* and partners, 7 edit. from 1491 to 1499.

HIS partners, who printed afterwards by themſelves ſhall be mention'd in their place.

29. WILLIAM CARON,
30. JOHN BELIN with *John Dupre* abovementioned, } 1 edit. 1492.

31. GILLET COUSTEAU and
32. JOHN MENARD, } 2 edit. from 1492 to 1494.

33. JOHN

33. JOHN LAMBERT and
34. CLAUDE JAMMAR, } 2 edit. 1493 to 1494.

35. JOHN PHILIPPI *de Cruczennach*, German, one of *George Wolph*'s partners: we have 3 edit. of his from 1494 to 1495.

36. PETER POUILLAC,
37. STEPHEN JANNOT and } 4 edit. from 1495 to 1498.
38. JOHN TREPEREL,

39. JOHN BOUYER and
40. WILLIAM BOUCHER, } 1 edit. 1496.

41. ANDR. BOCARD one of the beſt Printers of his time: *De la Caille* affirms him to have printed a great number of books, both for himſelf and other bookſellers: and among others, the *Figuræ Biblicæ* of *Anth. de Rampengol:* his mark was the arms of *France*, and thoſe of the univerſity, and of the city of *Paris* with four *French* verſes, which you will find in the margin [1]: we have however but 4 edit. of his, 3 dated 1497, and the laſt 1498.

42. ANTONY NIDEL or *de Nydel* a citizen of *Paris*, and maſter of arts: we have but one impreſſion of his dated 1497.

43. JOHN POITEVIN,
JOHN HIGMAN,
44. JOHN RICHARD, } we have but 1 edit. of each of theſe dated 1498.

45. JO. PETIT, *Pariſian*, 1498.

JOHN PETIT was a native of *Paris*, and rather a bookſeller than a Printer: he is juſtly eſteem'd one of the moſt eminent and induſtrious ones of his time. He kept the greateſt number of the beſt workmen of any of his contemporaries, with no leſs than fifteen preſſes continually at work at his own charges, whilſt himſelf was engag'd in the buſineſs of his ſhop, at the *ſilver Lyon*, and procuring the moſt ſkilfull correctors to reviſe his works. He gain'd a prodigious reputation by the beauty and correctneſs of his impreſſions, which, tho' printed in a Gothic character, are much eſteem'd by the curious. He began to print *anno* 1498, tho' ſome copies

[1] Honneur au Roy, & a la Court,
Salut a l'Univerſite,
Dont nôtre bien procede & ſourt
Dieu gard' de *Paris* la cite.

of

of editions by ſeveral former Printers have likewiſe his name, as Mr. *Mattaire* informs us, yet all have not; he continued printing 'till *anno* 1532, and many of his impreſſions are as ſcarce as they are curious. The learned *Henry Stephens*, father of ſo many great Printers of that name, was ſo well ſatisfy'd of his merit, that he was glad to have him for his partner with *Wolfgang Hopyl* mention'd above, who was a Printer of much older date: *Petit* became ſo famous, both for the beauty and correctneſs, as well as the number of his editions, that he was afterwards ſworn Printer and bookſeller to the univerſity of *Paris*, and choſen ſyndic or maſter of that company; among thoſe Printers which he employ'd, was the famous *Jodocus Badius*, who printed ſeveral conſiderable editions for him. In the title page of his books, he us'd the words *Petit a Petit* [*by little and little*] alluding to his own name, which he alſo us'd for his motto. The books which we find printed in his name from 1498 to 1500, are only three, the firſt of which is much valued by ſtudents in law, *viz.*

MODUS *legendi abbreviaturus in utroque jure*, 8vo, per *Jo. Petit*, *Pariſiis*, 1498. For as we hinted before, abbreviations were become ſo frequent and intricate in moſt ſciences, but eſpecially that of the law, that ſuch a help as this was become abſolutely neceſſary.

46. JOHN DRYART,
47. SIMON COLIN,
48. GODFREY MARNEF,

} we have but one impreſſion of each of theſe dated 1498.

49. MICHEL TOLOSA, 1 edit. 1499.

50. ALEXANDER ALIATE,
51. THIELMAN KERVER,

} 1 edit. of each 1500.

WE find alſo in *Orlandi*'s liſt about 44 editions without Printers names.

BEFORE I diſmiſs this chapter, I cannot omit obſerving, that *Paris* hath been a noble patroneſs of the Art of Printing. 'Tis true, *Venice* is juſtly fam'd upon this account; yet it ought to be remember'd, that moſt of her celebrated Printers were of the *French* nation, and ſignaliz'd themſelves as much in this Art, as any other nation; and that *Paris* excell'd all other cities of that kingdom in this reſpect. The encouragements which their kings, and the learned of that and other countries, have given the Art, and the care of the univerſity over the Printers, have contri-

contributed extremely to the great improvements made therein. Beſides this, the *French* have ſhewn an extraordinary genius and ſkill in the cutting of their punches for all languages; they have been very curious about their paper, and more particularly in adorning their editions with cutts, head and tail pieces, initial letters, rubricks and other embelliſhments of that nature. This I mention not ſo much with reſpect to the 15th century, as to the following. No city has produc'd a greater number of the fineſt bibles than *Paris*. Their large, royal and polyglot bibles are juſtly eſteem'd maſter-pieces of that kind; their editions of general and provincial councils, of canon and civil-law, the works of the fathers, chronological and hiſtorical books, and, in ſhort, in every art and ſcience, are very numerous, rich, and valuable; and many of them contain ſeven, eight, and ten large volumes, and ſome twenty, thirty, and even thirty ſeven, as the acts of the council printed by the famous *Anthony Vitré* at the *Louvre*. The women likewiſe were very eminent in this province; and particularly, *Charlotte Guillard*, the widow of *Berthold Rembolt*, *Ulric Gering*'s partner, who for the ſpace of 50 years kept ſeveral preſſes, and printed a great number of large and correct editions both in *Latin* and *Greek*, her beſt editions were publiſh'd after ſhe became a widow the ſecond time, *viz.* the bible, the fathers; in particular, the works of St. *Gregory* in two volumes were printed ſo accurately, that the *errata* contain'd but three faults. Her fame at laſt increas'd ſo, that the learned *Lewis Lippoman*, biſhop of *Verona*, made choice of her to print his *Catena SS. patrum in Geneſim*, which he finiſh'd in *Portugal*. This edition ſhe perform'd ſo much to his ſatisfaction, that when he aſſiſted at the council of *Trent*, he came on purpoſe to *Paris* to return her thanks, and prevail'd upon her to print likewiſe his ſecond volume, *viz. Catena in Exodum*, which ſhe perform'd with equal beauty and correctneſs. Theſe with many other particulars relating to that admirable woman, may be ſeen in *Chevil.* p. 48, *& ſeq.*

As *Paris* has always abounded in excellent Printers, and furniſh'd moſt other cities of *Europe* with ſome of them; ſo, on the other hand, it muſt be own'd, that it has produc'd ſeveral equally bad, who have publiſh'd many wretched editions; and 'tis probable they might have ſtill increas'd, had not the univerſity check'd their growth. For as it has ſuch power

over all Printers and bookſellers, as to refuſe admitting thoſe into the buſineſs, who are not ſufficiently qualify'd, and to turn them out of it, or ſuſpend or fine them for any miſdemeanors, as was hinted before; it can more eaſily reſtrain them, than where ſuch checks are wanting. However thoſe, whoſe merit recommends them, enjoy all the encouragement they can reaſonably deſire, both from their princes and the univerſity. They are endow'd with privileges, exemptions, and immunities beyond any other city; and have had frequent opportunities of raiſing themſelves to great dignities, of acquiring large eſtates, and in ſhort, every thing ſuitable to their merit.

CHAP. V.

The Settlement and Progreſs of Printing *in the Cities of* Cologn, Milan 1470, Strasburgh, Bolognia *and* Treviſo 1471, *the Names, Dates, and other Particulars of their* Printers.

Article I. COLOGN. 1470.

THE city of *Cologn*, (which is one of the moſt opulent Hans-towns in the empire, and an archiepiſcopal ſee, pleaſantly ſituated upon the *Rhine*,) by its nearneſs to *Mentz*, muſt neceſſarily have receiv d the Art of Printing very early. We have taken notice, in the firſt book of this hiſtory, that ſome of *Fauſt*'s ſervants left him even before the taking of that city, and ſettled at *Cologn*; and the author of the Chronicle of that name mentions it as the firſt city, which receiv'd the art after *Mentz*. 'Tis unqueſtionable that if her firſt impreſſions had been preſerv'd, we muſt have given it the precedency to almoſt all the cities hitherto mention'd; but whether the firſt printers of it neglected to add their own, and the cities name at the end of their editions, (a fault too common in thoſe days) or whether their works were too inconſiderable to be preſerv'd; it is certain that there is no book, as yet known, printed there with an authentick date, before this year 1470; which is the

the reaſon why, according to our propos'd method, we can allow it no higher rank. We have indeed, in the introduction to this ſecond book, taken notice of one of the moſt eminent printers in this city, *viz. John Koelhoff*, who antedated ſome of his impreſſions; but, I hope, the reader is fully ſatisfy'd from the reaſons which we have given there, that he began not to work ſo early, ſince one of his dates is even much older than either himſelf or the Art of Printing. *Cologn* did not abound with great Printers during the firſt 30 years, *viz.* till 1500; tho' in proceſs of time it became very famous in that art, as well by thoſe who liv'd in it, as thoſe that diſpers'd themſelves into many cities of *Europe*. It is call'd *Colonia Agrippina* in *Latin* from the empreſs *Agrippina*, *Nero*'s mother: the following are all the Printers we know of 'till the end of the 15th century.

1. CONRARD WINTERS *de Hombergh*, a citizen of *Cologn*, of whom we have but one edition dated 1470.

2. PETER *de Olpe*, 2 edit. both 1471.

3. ARNOLD TERBORN or *Terburn*, 2 edit. from 1473 to 1477.

4. JOHN KOELHOFF *de Lubeck*, 9 edit. from 1474 to 1494: beſides the two following ones, which tho' printed with his name, have a date manifeſtly falſe.

1. FLORES *de diverſis ſermonibus & epiſtolis* B. Bernardi *per me* Joan. Koelhoff *de* Lubeck Colonienſem *civem impreſſi anno* MCCCC, *feliciter finiunt.* The reader may ſee by the time in which he printed, that either the laſt C muſt have been taken up by the balls, or omitted by the compoſitor; and that it was done *anno* 1500, or that ſome other figures are wanting to the date: but it appears to me to be done by deſign rather than miſtake.

2. SILVII *Senenſis Epiſtolæ*, at the end; *Pii ſecundi pontificis maximi, cui ante ſummum epiſcopatum primum quidem imperiali ſecretario, mox epiſcopo, deinde etiam cardinali Senenſi,* Enee Silvii *nomen erat, familiares epiſtole date ad amicos in quadruplici viſe ejus ſtatu finiunt, per me* Joannem Koelhoff de Lubeck *coloniæ incolam, anno incarnationis MCCCCLVIII.*

We have already obſerv'd, that there are ſome letters in this book, which are of a later date by ſeveral years than that of the book; ſo that it muſt neceſſarily be falſe.

5. Henry Quentel an excellent Printer, tho' omitted by the laſt annaliſt father *Orlandi*, continued printing long after the year 1500, and had a ſon *Peter Quentel* and a grandſon *John Quentel*, who likewiſe diſtinguiſh'd themſelves for the goodneſs and correctneſs of their editions: we have but 4 edit. of his from 1480 to 1500.

6. John Guldenschayff, 4 edit. from 1484 to 1487.

Mr. *Mattaire* mentions likewiſe ſome bibles, and a few other books printed here without Printers names.

Article II. MILAN, 1470.

Milan [in *latin Mediolanum*] is one of the four chief cities of *Italy*, ſituate near the rivers *Adda* and *Teſino*, and ſaid to have been built by the *Trojans* after their expulſion by *Bellover* king of the *Gauls*. This city, after a variety of chances and wars, was almoſt ruined by *Frederic Barbaroſſa*; but now flouriſhes under the emperor of *Germany*. It received the Art of Printing very early, and had many excellent artificers from the beginning, whoſe works are equally valuable with thoſe of any other cities. We cannot poſitively affirm any thing concerning the time, in which this Art was brought hither, nor who were the men that ſet it up. The firſt both in time as well as excellency was.

1. Anthony Zarot, 1470.

He was a native of the city of *Parma*, tho' of *Cretenſian* parents, as appears by ſome of his colophons, and gain'd a great reputation for 30 years, in which he continued printing, by his elegant and correct impreſſions in a beautiful Roman character, which are ſufficiently known among the learned. He was oblig'd indeed to comply with the cuſtom in printing ſome editions in old Gothic; yet even theſe have all the elegancy and beauty they can admit of. He is eſteem'd the inventor of ſignatures, or alphabetical letters at the bottom of every ſheet, which

at firſt he plac'd under the laſt line of the page, where they ought to be: But afterwards he put them, upon what account is hard to gueſs, at the end of the laſt line, ſo as to make them ſerve, as it were, for the laſt word in the page. This appears by his edition of *John Simoneta de geſtis Franciſci Sfortiæ ducis Mediol.* anno 1486. This whim of his was not follow'd by any Printer, nor by himſelf long; for he ſoon return'd to the firſt method. His main province was printing of claſſicks, which he executed with extraordinary diligence and accuracy. He is ſaid to be the firſt that printed miſſals or maſs-books for the uſe of the clergy, who were hitherto us'd to MS ones. That which he printed *anno* 1478, had the four *Latin* verſes in red letters, which you will find in the margin [1]. His chief corrector was the famous *Peter Juſtin Philelphus*, a perſon of learning and great application, eſpecially in correcting the faulty editions which *Zarot* was oblig'd to procure from *Rome* or other places. His next corrector was the learned *P. Steph. Dulcinio*, prebend of *Scala*, who tells the marquiſs of *Palavicino*, to whom he dedicates the ſecond edition of *Manilius*, *anno* 1499. that he had corrected that author in above three hundred places, and clear'd it from the barbariſms, and other faults of the tranſcribers, as far as it was poſſible to be done in a very corrupt copy. *Zarot* continued printing till the year 1500, from which time we hear no more of him.

We have twenty ſix of his impreſſions ſtill extant, many of which have either an epigram or a colophon in his commendation. Some are without Printer or places name, and even without date; the laſt of which muſt be gueſs'd at, the former are eaſily known by the particular beauty of his character, and becauſe he printed no where but at *Milan*.

2. Philip *de Lavagna Milaneſe*, 13 editions, from 1474 to 1480. The laſt of which, *viz. Euſebii Chronicon* in *Latin*, is without date, and has a *Latin* epigram of ſix lines written in his commendation by *Boninus Mambritius*.

3. Christopher Valdarfer *de Ratisbon*, an excellent artiſt, who printed at *Venice* from 1470 to 1471, then came to *Milan*, where

[1] Antoni patria Parmenſis gente Zarote,
Primus Miſſales imprimit arte Libros.
Nemo repertorem nimium ſe jactet; in Arte,
Addere plus tantum quam peperiſſe valet.

he

he wrought till *anno* 1477, if not beyond. He made uſe of the ſame corrector here which he had at *Venice*, *viz.* *Ludovicus Carbo* or *Carbone*, a native of *Ferrara*; we have but four impreſſions of his done at *Milan* from 1474 to 1477.

4. DOMINIC *de Veſpolate*,
5. DIONYS PARAVICINO, } 4 edit. from 1476 to 1478.

THE former alſo took another partner, *viz.*

6. JAMES MARLIAN, of theſe we have 2 edit. 1477, 1478.

7. LUDOVIC and
8. ALBERT } *Piedmonteſe*. Of theſe two Brothers we have only one edition, *viz.* *Dante's* comedies with comments: The text is printed in an elegant Roman, and the comments in a fine Gothic character, with the colophon which you'll find in the margin[1].

9. LEONARD PACHEL,
10. ULDRIC SCINZENZETER, } 1479.

Theſe two partners were Germans by birth, and printed ſometimes together and ſometimes ſeparately, till after the cloſe of the 15th century. The former of them printed a great many of the claſſicks, and is reported to have printed a very conſiderable number of law books, many of which are not yet come to light. Their corrector was *Benedict. Rhethoricus*. The number of their impreſſions hitherto diſcover'd from 1479 to 1500, amounts to 36.

11. SIMON MAGNAGUS, 1 edit. 1480.
12. BENIGNUS and
13. JOHN ANTONY } *Bonaſo* brothers, 2 edit. 1482, 1488.
14. JAMES *de S. Nazaro*, 2 edit. 1489, 1494.
15. PHILIP *de Montegaliis*, 1 edit. 1490.
16. PETER ANTONY *de Caſtillione*, 1 edit. 1493.
17. HENRY GERMAN, and
18. SEBASTIAN *de Pontremoli*, } 1 edit. 1493.

[1] Edente Martino paulo Nidobeato Novarienſi DIVA BO. MA cum dulci nato JO. GZ Ducibus feliciſſ. Liguriæ valida pace regnantibus, operi egregio manum ſupremam LUD. & ALB. FR. Pedemontani amico Jove impoſuerunt. Mediolani urbe illuſtri. Anno Gratiæ M. CCCC. LXXVI I. V. ID. F MP. N. N. CUM. GU. T. FA. CU.

19. WIL-

19. WILLIAM SIGNER of *Rouen*, 2 edit. 1496, 1498.
20. JOHN BAPT. ALVISIANUS, 1 edit. 1497.
21. ALEXANDER MINUTIANUS, 1 edit. of all *Cicero's* works in 4 volumes fol. the two firſt *anno* 1498, the other two 1499.
22. DEMETRIUS CHALCONDYLLA and partners, 1 edit. 1499.
23. AMBROSE CAPONAGUS, 1 edit. 1499.
24. JOHN ANGEL. SCINZENZELER and
25. BARTHOL MINIATOR, } 2 edit. both 1500.
26. PETER MARTYR MONTLEGATIUS, 1 edit. 1500.

There are alſo many editions printed at *Milan*, from 1471 to 1500 without Printer's names. Fath. *Orlandi* tells us, that he has on purpoſe omitted many works done at *Milan*, becauſe his learned friend Dr. *Joſeph Antonio* keeper of the *Ambroſian* library in that city, was then (*ann* 1722) compiling a hiſtory which would ſhortly appear under the following title, *Hiſtoria Literaria Mediolanenſis ab an.* 1470 *ad* 1500. *qua occaſione de Origine & progreſſu Typographiæ, Libris editis intra illud tempus, ac Viris Illuſtribus, eo ſeculo in eadem Urbe florentibus.* By this we may eaſily gueſs, that we have as yet but an imperfect hiſtory of that city. We may ſay the ſame of almoſt all the reſt, except thoſe that have met with ſome learned perſons who have taken the pains of ſearching the libraries, in order to give a more perfect and full one of them, ſuch as that of *Paris*, *Nurembergh*, *&c.*

Article III. STRASBURGH.

STRASBURGH, in *Latin Argentina* and *Argentoratum*, is an epiſcopal See, and the metropolis of *Alſatia* upon the borders of *France*, celebrated for the number of learned men, which it has produc'd; and the beauty and magnificence of its churches, towers, buildings, *&c.* according to the poet's deſcription [1].

IT was the native place of *John Guttenbergh*, to which, after his diſagreement with *Fauſt*, he brought the Art of Printing together with ſome of his artificers; ſo that it may be juſtly eſteem'd, at leaſt, one of the

[1] Imprimiſque altas propius fert inclyta turres
Argentina Domus doctorum clara virorum

firſt

firſt cities, that practis'd it after *Mentz*, tho' all the monuments of it are ſo far loſt to us, that we know not any books with a certain date, printed there before the year 1471.

We have ſeen, in the firſt part of this hiſtory, how much this city hath been celebrated by ſome authors, upon the account of *John Guttenbergh*, whom they ſuppos'd to have been the inventor of this Art, or at leaſt to have laid the firſt foundation of it here, tho' he was oblig'd to retire to *Mentz* in order to perfect it. But as this, I conceive, has been ſufficiently confuted already, it is unneceſſary to repeat it here. I have likewiſe given the reader an account of another controverſy in favour of *Strasburgh* and *John Mentel* ſtarted about two hundred years after the diſcovery of this Art, by Dr. *Mentel* of the univerſity of *Paris*, who aſſerted that his anceſtor was the Inventor of Printing; which diſcovery he was robb'd of by a treacherous ſervant, whom he ſuſpects to be our famous *John Fauſt*. I hope, I have fully expoſed the vanity of this author's pretences, and his unfaithfulneſs in quoting teſtimonies in behalf of *Mentel*; againſt whom, were there no other evidence, it would be ſufficient to allege, that there is not one book printed in his name before the year 1473, and that without any mention of the city of *Strasburgh*.

All that is proper to add at preſent is, that our author, to elude, if poſſible, the force of this objection, affirm'd that this book, which *John Mentel* finiſh'd *anno* 1473, was no leſs than twenty years a printing, and contain'd ten large volumes in *fol.* ſo that it muſt have been begun about 1453, *i. e.* four years before *Fauſt* had printed any work in his name, but this is a groundleſs conjecture.

This book is the *Speculum Morale* of *Vincentius Belvacenſis*, a very voluminous work; but that it ſhould have taken up 20 years in printing, is only ſaid without any authority or teſtimony for it; however we may allow it to have taken up ſome conſiderable time, without leſſening the validity of what has been heretofore affirm'd after ſeveral eminent authors, *viz.* that *John Fauſt*, at his return from *Paris*, where he had been ſelling his printed bibles for manuſcripts, ſtay'd ſome time at *Strasburgh*, where he taught *Mentel* his Art. The only difficulty againſt it is, that if this laſt had been let into the ſecret ſo ſoon, there would be ſome earlier and a greater number of his productions to be ſeen. The former is

eaſily

eaſily anſwer'd by the ſad experience we have, of too many of the old monuments of the Art being either loſt, or not yet diſcover'd; and the latter, *De la Caille* endeavours to account for, who peremptorily aſſerts this *Mentel* to be the ſame with *John Mentelen* or *Manthen de Geretzſheim*, who went and ſettled at *Venice*, and aſſociated himſelf with the famous *John de Cologne*, one of the moſt eminent and firſt Printers of that city about the year 1474, with whom he printed ſeveral valuable editions, mention'd in the chapter of *Venice*.

If this aſſertion be well grounded, 'tis ſuperfluous to ſeek for any of his works at *Strasburgh*, except the *Speculum* beforemention'd, if even that was printed there. But as *la Caille* has not mention'd his authority, I ſhall not dare to aſſert the truth of this too poſitively. We muſt not omit taking notice, that this *John Manthen* continued printing at *Venice*, with his partner aforeſaid, 'till the year 1480, as the reader may ſee by what has been ſaid of him there; whereas *John Mentel* is affirm'd by the Dr. from the authority of *Gaſpar Benegerus* to have dy'd at *Strasburgh* two years before, *viz.* 1478, in honour of whom the great bell of that city was order'd to be rung the ſunday following[1], which is never done but upon the death of a prince or ſome very great man. I ſhall not take upon me to decide the controverſy, but only ſay, that if the *Speculum* aforeſaid, be *Mentel*'s firſt edition at *Strasburgh*, it will follow, that he was outſtript, at leaſt by two years there, by the famous *Henry Eggelſtein*, of whom we have only two volumes, both printed *anno* 1471; the laſt of which is perhaps one of the largeſt that ever was printed, the paper of it being of an extraordinary ſize, exceeding even that which is commonly call'd *Charta magna*. It hath likewiſe another remarkable particular, which is, that the beginning and end of it are printed in red, and is therefore the firſt edition done after that manner.

The Printers therefore of *Strasburgh* from 1471 to 1500 are as follows,

1. Henry Eggelstein abovemention'd, 2 edit. dated 1471.
2. John Mentel, 1 edit. *viz.* *Vincentii Speculum morale* in ten large

[1] Obiit dominus *Johannes Mentel* ſabatho poſt conceptionem virginis *Mariæ*, *anno* MCCCC LXXIIX; et factus eſt ei pulſus cum campana magna Dominica ſequenti. Paræn. &c. *pag* 93.

volumes, *fol.* and ſuppos'd to be printed at *Strasburgh*, tho' no mention is made of the place where it was done; it is dated 1473.

3. MARTIN FLACH or *Flachen* citizen of *Baſil*, 7 edit. from 1475 to 1500.

4. LEORIUS USNER citizen of *Strasburgh*, 2 edit. from 1476 to 1477.

5. MARC REYNHARD of *Strasburgh* and
6. NICOL. *de Philippis* of *Gernſheym*, } 2 edit. from 1480 to 1482.

7. JOHN PRUS, 1 edit. 1487.

8. GEORGE REYNHARD or *de Grunynger*, 3 edit. from 1489 to 1498: he had likewiſe printed at *Rome*, as we have ſeen under that head *anno* 1475.

ORLANDI has likewiſe given us a liſt of 84 edit. printed at *Strasburgh* without Printers names.

Article IV. BOLOGNA, 1471.

BOLOGNA or *Bolonia*, in *Latin Bononia*, an ancient and famous city of *Italy*, at the foot of the *Alps*, upon the river *Rhine*, in the territories of the pope, was formerly call'd *Felſina*, from *Felſinus* king of the *Thuſcans*, which ſignifies a ſhield. This name ſhe preſerv'd above nine hundred years, and always was eminent for the number of learned men and brave warriers which ſhe produc'd. This city afterwards was call'd *Bojona* from *Buoi* king of the *Gauls*, and in proceſs of time *Bononia* and *Bolonia*. It is at this day a celebrated univerſity, endow'd with extraordinary privileges from emperors, popes, *&c.* and ſuch a concourſe of ſtudents reſort thither, that it is recorded of one of their doctors and profeſſors, the learned *Azzo*, that he was oblig'd to read his lectures in ſome publick market places, to above ten thouſand ſtudents. For theſe and other reaſons, not neceſſary to be given here, it has been ſtyl'd *Archigymnaſium mundi*, and the mother and founder of univerſities[1]. 'Tis no wonder therefore that the Art of Printing receiv'd ſuch early encouragement from it, and that it had ſo many famous workmen, eminent for the beauty and correctneſs of their impreſſions.

[1] Bononia docet Mater ſtudiorum,
Petrus ubique Pater, Legumque Mater.

IT is likewiſe obſervable that it had not the Art brought to it by foreigners, as other famous cities, *Rome*, *Venice*, *Paris*, &c. but was oblig'd for it to one of her own citizens, *viz.*

1. BALTHAZAR AZZOGUIDI, *anno* 1471.

A perſon well born and of good education, who ſet up his Preſs in that city, and continued printing, at leaſt, till the year 1480, after which we hear no more of him. His editions are all in a neat Roman character, and printed with great accuracy, the firſt of which, *viz. Ovid*'s *Metamorphoſes* anno 1471, has the colophon which you'll find in the margin [1]. By which it is plain that he was the firſt who practis'd the Art of Printing, of which he improperly calls himſelf the inventor in his own city of *Bolonia*. We have 12 editions of him from 1471 to 1480.

2. HUGO RUGERIUS and
3. DONINUS BERTOCH } of *Regio*, 6 edit. from 1474 to 1495.
4. DOMINIC *de Lapis*, 3 edit. 1476 to 1477.
5. JOHN SCRIBER of *Ausburgh*, call'd alſo JOHN *de Annunciata de Auguſta*, } 2 edit. both 1478.
6. HENRY *de Colonia*, 5 edit. from 1479 to 1486.
7. JOHN *de Noerdlingen* and
8. HENRY *de Harlem*, } 8 edit. from 1480 to 1488.

THE laſt of theſe did likewiſe aſſociate himſelf firſt with

9. MATH. CRESCENTINUS, and afterwards with
10. JOHN WALBECK; ſo that 3 of the 8 editions above-nam'd were printed, one with the former, and two with the laſt.
11. BALTHASSAR *de Hyruberia*, 2 edit. both 1481.
12. DOMINIC *de Silveſtro de Cini*, 1 edit. 1482.

13. PLATO *de* BENEDICTIS; or DEI BENEDETTI of *Bologna*, 1483.

This Printer hath never been excell'd by any perſon in the beauty and elegance of his Roman character; and as his editions are extremely fine

[1] Baltheſſar Azzoguidi civis Bononienſis honeſtiſſimo loco natus, primus in ſua Civitate artis impreſſoriæ Inventor, ad Utilitatem Humani generis impreſſit, A. M CCCC LXX.

and correct, ſo he hath taken care to tell the world of it in almoſt every colophon at the end of his books, by adding ſome pompous title to his name, ſuch as *impreſſor ſolertiſſimus, artis hujus exactor probatiſſimus, quam pulcherrimis Characteribus*, &c. He is thought to have either learn'd the Art at *Venice*, or furniſh'd himſelf with his Fonts from thence. The firſt is moſt probable, becauſe we find an edition of *Dion. Chryſoſtom*'s *Oratio de regno*, 4to. ſuppos'd to have been printed by him at *Venice anno* 1483. But *F. Orlandi* thinks this ſuppoſition ill-grounded, and therefore hath mention'd neither him, nor that edition under the article of *Venice*, but has put it at the head of thoſe printed by him at *Bologna*, where having found a book, printed *anno* 1481, intitled *Baptiſtæ Mantuani Carmelitani parthenices*, he reprinted it with his own name and colophon. All his impreſſions as yet known, the two foremention'd ones included, amount to ſixteen, the laſt of them, *viz. Vegetius* and others *de Re Militari* is dated 1495.

14. BENEDICT HECTOR, 1478.

He was a very good Printer and Bookſeller, who employ'd many Printers of this city, and kept likewiſe ſome preſſes of his own a-going, as appears by thoſe impreſſions we have of him; all which are ſo correct and beautiful, that he is juſtly rank'd among the beſt workmen of his time, and *Ugerius de Pontremulo* has honour'd ſome of his impreſſions with epigrams in praiſe of him. We have four and twenty of them ſtill extant from 1488 to 1499.

15. BACILIERUS, BASSALERUS, BAZALERUS or *de Bacilieris, Baſſaleris, Bazaleris*, 1489.

WE have but three editions of this Printer from 1489 to 1493, in each of which he ſpells his name differently. He was an excellent Printer, and a rival of the famous *Plato de Benedictis*, whom he endeavour'd to ſurpaſs in beauty of letter, fineſs and accuracy of his impreſſions, which tho' they do not excel, yet are not at all inferior to thoſe of his corrival, and he doth not fail accordingly to give himſelf ſome of theſe pompous epithets which we have ſeen of the other; and it is obſerv'd that ſome of *Plato's* impreſſions were no ſooner come out of the preſs, but *Bacilierus* went immediately to work upon them, and publiſh'd another

other edition in a ſmall time after. Such an emulation could not chuſe but have proved an honour and ſervice to the Art had it liv'd till now.

16. JOHN JAMES FONTANESE, 2 edit. both dated 1492.

17. HECTOR FAELLI *Bologneſe*, 2 edit. from 1492, to 1500.

18. HERCULES NANI, 2 edit. from 1493, to 1494.

19. JUSTINIAN *de Ruberia*, 2 edit. from 1495, to 1499.

JOHN ANTONY *Platonides Benedictorum Bologneſe*, 1 edit. 1499.

With a ſmall number printed at *Bologne* without the Printers names.

Article V. *The City of* TREVISO.

TREVISO, in *Latin Tarviſium*, a noble and ancient city of *Italy*, and the capital of the province of that name, by reaſon of its vicinity to *Venice*, under whoſe dominion it is, had the Art of Printing ſoon introduc'd. *Gerard de Liſa*, a *Flemming* by birth, and an excellent Printer, was the firſt that ſet it up here. We can only ſay in general both of him and this city, that the few editions we have left of theirs are very elegant and in a neat character.

1. GERARD *de* LIZA *or* LISIS, *or* GERARD *de* FLANDRIA, 1471.

WE have but four editions of him; the two firſt are dated 1471, the third 1476, and the laſt 1492, which makes me hope that more of them will ſtill come to light, theſe being eſteem'd very curious, not only for their elegancy, but likewiſe for their correctneſs.

2. HERMAN LICHTHENSTEIN *or* LEVILAPIS *of* COLOGN, 1477.

THIS Printer we have ſpoken of under the chapter of *Venice*; and we ſhall again mention him under the city of *Vincenza*, where he printed for ſome time. At *Treviſo* we have only two editions printed by him, both dated 1477. He died *anno* 1494, whilſt he was printing that voluminous work of *Vincentius*, entituled, *Speculum Morale*.

3. BERNARD *de Colonia*, 2 edit. 1477, 1478.

4. MI-

4. MICHEL MANZOLI or MANZOLINI, 7 edit. from 1477 to 1480.

5. BARTHOLOMEW *de Conſoloneriis*, 4 edit. from 1478 to 1483.

6. BERNARDIU CELERIUS *de Luere*, 2 edit. 1480, 1483. after which he went to *Venice*, where he aſſociated himſelf with *Bernardin de Novaria* as has been mention'd under that Head.

7. JOHN VERCELLIUS, or *Vercellenſis*, 6 edit. from 1480 to 1494. after which he went to *Venice*, where you will find him under that head, from *anno* 1486 to 1499. In this laſt place he calls himſelf *John Rubeus Vercellenſis*.

8. PAUL *de Ferrara* and
9. DIONYS BERTOCH, } 2 edit. 1481, 1482.

DIONYS BERTOCH and
10. PEREGRINE PASQUALI, } 2 edit. 1482, 1485.

THERE is ſcarce one Printer to be met with in hiſtory, who chang'd oftner his place of abode, his partners, and even his name, than *Dennis Bertoch*; who ſometimes calls himſelf *Bertoch Doninus*, and ſometimes *Dionys*, ſometimes *de Bononia*, and at other times *de Regio*. His firſt works, *viz.* for 1482 to 1490, were printed at *Treviſo*; immediately after which we find him at *Venice*, where he ſtay'd till 1492; thence he remov'd to *Regio*, and aſſociated himſelf with *Marc Antony de Baccilieris*; and laſtly he ſettled at *Modena* about the year 1499. We find but two of their impreſſions under this head, dated 1482 and 1485.

BUT tho' we have rank'd them under the article of *Treviſo*, yet they bear no name of any place, and may indeed be ſuppos'd done by them at *Venice*, where they printed about this time; however I have choſen to follow *F. Orlandi*, who thinks it more probable that they were done at *Treviſo*.

THERE is an edition printed by *Peregrine Paſquali* at *Scandiano* near the city of *Reggio*, but with a date impoſſible to be underſtood or gueſs'd at;

IT is as follows,

DILIGENTIS *ac ingenioſi calchographi Peregrini Paſquali exactiſſimâ tum operâ, tum curâ hæc Candidi ex Apiano hiſtorico & ſophiſta traductio, Scandiani Camillo comite, impreſſa eſt.* Anno a natali Chriſti, 15. M CCCC LCXV.

Appen-

Appendix to the foregoing chapter; Printing ſet up at Ratisbon, Amberg, *and* Colle, 1471.

THESE three cities, tho' diſtant from each other, we have join'd together at the end of this chapter, for the ſake of the editions printed at each of them in the ſame year 1471, which were too few to deſerve a diſtinct article; ſince we meet with no impreſſions at either of them, except the four following; *viz.*

1. AT *Ratisbon* an imperial city in *Germany* upon the *Danube*; *Servii comment. in Virgilium*, fol. without the Printer's name. 1471. *Orl.*

2. AT *Amberg* in the *Palatinate*, now ſubject to the elector of *Bavaria*; *Marc. Tull. Cicer. Orationes omnes*, fol. without the Printer's name. 1471. *Orl.*

3. AT *Colle* a citadel ſituate upon a hill in *Tuſcany*, and ſubject to the duke of that name;

(1.) OPPIANI *Cilix, qui claruit ſub imper. Caracallâ, halieuticon ſive de naturâ & venatione piſcium libri quinque*, 4to. per. Gallum Bonum. 1471. *Orl.*

(2.) JACOBI *de Voragine legenda aurea.* ibid. without the Printer's name. *Orl.* 1471.

CHAP. VII.

Printing brought into the Cities of Naples, Florence, *and* Ferrara, *anno* 1471, *and to* Nurembergh, Verona, Parma, Mantua, Derventer *and* Padua, *anno* 1472; *a Liſt of the Printers, and their Works, with other particulars, till* 1500.

Article. I. *The City of* NAPLES.

NAPLES, in *Latin Neapolis* and *Parthenope*, is the metropolis of the kingdom of that name, in *Italy*. It was formerly govern'd by kings of its own, but afterwards became ſubject to the crown of *Spain*, and is now

now under the emperor of *Germany*. This city has been the reſidence of men of the moſt diſtinguiſh'd wit and learning, in ancient and modern ages; as *Virgil*, who is ſaid to have writ his Georgicks here; *Livy*, *Horace*, *Claudian*, *Petrarch*, *Beccatellus Panormitanus*, *Laurentius Valla*, the great reſtorer of latinity and eloquence; *Perillus*, an elegant *Italian* poet; and many others of conſpicuous merit. The great number of learned men in this city, particularly, when printing became known and ſpread itſelf over *Europe*, was a ſufficient inducement for ſome of the beſt Printers to ſettle there. But none encourag'd the Art and artiſts more, than *Ferdinand* III. king of *Naples*, whom we had occaſion to mention before, upon the account of the free acceſs, which the learned had to his perſon, and their epiſtolary correſpondence with him, and who liv'd at the time of the infancy of the Art. As his learning was equal to the eſteem he had for the learned, I doubt not but it was he who procur'd the famous *Sixtus Ruſſinger* a learned and pious prieſt, who was a native of *Strasburgh*, to ſettle in his capital. This ſeems more than probable, not only becauſe he was the firſt who ſet up a preſs at *Naples*, but from the great marks of eſteem which that prince ſhew'd him; inſomuch, that having diſcover'd his intention to return to his own country, he try'd all poſſible means to divert him from it, and even offer'd him a noble biſhoprick, or any other preferment, if that could have fix'd him in his dominions. But this venerable old man, whether out of modeſty, or rather a deſire of ſpending the ſmall remainder of his days in his native city, refus'd the king's offer, and return'd home loaden with the preſents of that generous monarch. *Rieſſinger* was not only a Printer, but a clergyman, and famous for his great learning; yet as he continued but a ſhort t ime at *Naples*, we have few editions of his. *Orlandi* gives him a contemporary and fellow citizen, *viz.* *Peter* of *Strasburgh*, who ſettled there about the ſame year; but as I do not find that he printed any thing in company with *Rieſſinger*, or that any of his impreſſions are left, I ſhall ſay no more of him.

We have but four impreſſions of *Sixtus Ruſſinger*, or *Rieſſinger*, two dated *anno* 1471 and 1472, the other two without date. They are all curious and correct, and two of them have *Latin* epigrams at the end

in

in his commendation. We don't find that he carried on the buſineſs after he came again to his native place.

2. BARTHOLD RING of *Strasburgh*, 1 edit. 1475.

3. MATTHIAS MORAVUS *de Olumuntz*, 7 edit. from 1475 to 1499.

THE firſt of whoſe impreſſions, *viz. Seneca*'s works is remarkable for its wrong date MLXXV for MCCCCLXXV. We find likewiſe an impreſſion of his done at *Genoa* in company with *Michael de Monacho*, viz. *Supplementum Summæ quæ piſanella vocatur*, fol. Januæ 10. Cal. *Julii milleſimo quadringenteſimo* LII. quarto, *inſtead of* LXX. quarto: his corrector was *Junianus Majus* a *Neapolitan*, and a profeſſor of grammar and rhetorick, who publiſh'd the following edition, *Juſtiniani Maii Parthenopei liber de priſcorum proprietate verborum*, fol. with this colophon, *Impreſſere Matthias Moravus impreſſor ſolertiſſimus & venerabilis Monachus Blaſius Theologus* 1475, which book has been much eſteem'd and reprinted in many places.

4. ARNOLD *de Bruxella* or *Bruſſels*, 5 edit. from 1475 to 1477.

5. JOHN ADAM *de Polonia*, 1 edit. 1478.

6. CONRARD GULDEMUND, 1 edit. 1478.

7. FRANCIS *de Dino* of *Florence*, 2 edit. 1480 to 1487. He went afterwards to *Florence*, where we ſhall find him under that head.

8. AYOLF *de Canthono* citizen of *Milan*, 1 edit. 1492.

THIS piece which is known but by few, is intitled, *L'Aquita*, and was compos'd in *Latin* by *Leonard Aretino*, and by him tranſlated into *Italian*. It conſiſts of four books, the firſt treats of the origin of the world, and the off-ſpring of *Jupiter*. The ſecond of the departure of *Æneas* from *Troy*, and of the kings of *Italy*. The third of the actions and ſayings of *Julius Cæſar*. And the fourth of the deſcendants of *Julius Cæſar*.

THERE are many others done here without Printer's name.

Article II. *The City of* FLORENCE.

FLORENCE, the metropolis and ſeat of the dukes of *Tuſcany*, and a noble univerſity, was not oblig'd to foreigners for this Art, ſince it was brought within her gates by one of her own citizens *Bernard Cennini*.

We do not find that he went to any other city in order to learn it, but being a conſiderable gold-ſmith, and having two ſons, *viz. Dominic* and *Peter*, who were very ingenious artificers, and the latter a perſon of letters, they ſet themſelves about cutting of punches, ſinking of matrices, and, in ſhort, got the whole apparatus of a Printing-houſe made within their houſe; inſomuch that they were in a capacity of printing before the year 1471. The firſt book and only one we have left, which is the reaſon why he has been unknown to all our annaliſts till *F. Orlandi*, was *Virgil's* works with *Servius's* commentaries, which they began to print on the 7th of *November* 1471, and finiſh'd *October* the 5th 1472. The preface and colophon of this not only giving an account of their ingenuity and diligence, but containing likewiſe ſomething remarkable, I ſhall refer the original to the margin, and inſert it here in *Engliſh*. The book is printed in the father and his ſon *Dominic's* name, and *Peter* the other ſon was the reviſer and corrector of it.

1. Bernard, and 2. Dominic Cennini *Citizens of Florence*, 1471.

Virgilii *opera omnia cum comm. Servii, & in fine Æneid. ejuſdem Servii de Natura ſyllabarum libellus ad Aquilinum*, fol. Florentiæ. *Orl.* 1471. [1].

[1] In principio poſt præfationem ad lectorem; *Florentiæ* VII idus Novembres MCCCCLXXI.

Bernardus Cenninus auritex omnium judicio præſtantiſſimus, & *Dominicus* ejus F. egregiæ indolis adoleſcens, expreſſis ante calibe characteribus, ac deinde fuſis literis volumen hoc primum impreſſerunt. *Petrus Cenninus Bernardi* ejuſdem filius quantâ potuit curâ & diligentiâ emendavit, ut cernis.

Florentinis ingeniis nil ardui eſt.

Finis.

Bernardus Cenninus auritex omnium judicio præſtantiſſimus, & *Dominicus* ejus F. optimæ indolis adoleſcens impreſſerunt. Petrus ejuſd. *Bernardi* F. emendavit; cum antiquiſſimis autem multis exemplaribus contulit, imprimiſque illi curæ fuit, ne quid alienum Servio aſcriberetur; neu quid recideretur, aut deeſſet, quod Honorati eſſe pervetuſta exemplaria demonſtrarent. Quoniam vero pleroſque juvat manupropriâ ſuoque more Græca interponere, eaque in antiquis codicibus perpauca ſunt, & accentus quidem difficillimi imprimendo notari poſſunt, relinquendum ad id ſpatia duxit. Sed cum apud homines perfectum nihil ſit, ſatis videri cuique debebit, ſi hi libri (quod vehementer optamus) præ aliis emendati reperientur.

Abſolutum opus nonis Octobris MCCCC LXXII Florentiæ. Orl. p. 130, 131.

After

After the preface (which was at the end of the book) are the following words:

„ At *Florence* VII Ides *Novemb.* 1471.

„ Bernard Cenninus a moſt excellent gold-ſmith, in the opi-
„ nion of all men, and *Dominic* his ſon, a youth of an extraordinary
„ genius, having firſt made their ſteel punches, and afterwards caſt their
„ letters from them, printed this their firſt work. *Peter Cenninus* ano-
„ ther ſon of the ſaid *Bernard* hath us'd his utmoſt care in correcting
„ it, as you ſee it.

Nothing is too hard for a Florentine genius.

Finis.

And after,

The colophon runs thus:

„ Bernard Cenninus a moſt excellent goldſmith, *&c. as in the*
„ *laſt*, and *Dominic* his ſon, a youth, *&c.* printed (this book); *Peter*
„ the ſon of the ſame *Bernard* corrected it, having firſt compar'd it
„ with the moſt ancient manuſcripts. It was his firſt care that nothing
„ ſhould paſs under the name of *Servius*, but what was truly his, or
„ any thing, that was plain from the moſt ancient copies to be his, might
„ be maim'd or wanting. But becauſe many perſons chooſe to write
„ the *Greek* quotations with their own hands, and there are but few to
„ be met with in the old copies, and their accents cannot be printed
„ but with great difficulty, he thought proper to leave blank ſpaces
„ for them. But as man can produce nothing abſolutely perfect, it
„ will be ſufficient for us, if theſe books be found (as we heartily wiſh)
„ more correct than any other.

The work was finiſh'd on the Nones of *October* 1427 at *Florence*.

3. Fr. Dominic *de Piſtoria* and
4. Fr. Peter *de Piſa* } *Monks*, 1477.

There are ſome *Florence* editions with this inſcription, *Apud ſanctum Jacobum de Ripoli*, which have given *F. Orlandi* no ſmall trouble to diſcover the Printers, who liv'd near that place; at length he found that it was a cloiſter of *Dominican* fryers, who liv'd in a little convent upon the plain of *Ripoli*, without St. *Nicholas*'s gate at *Florence*, near which place he found four editions, the firſt of which is printed with the above-

mention'd *Monk*'s name as follows, *Improntata in Firenze al Monaſterio di ſanto Jacopo di Ripoli del'Ordine del Fratri Predicatori per Mano di dua religioſi Frate Dominico da Piſtoja e Frate Piero da Piſa* Firenze 1477. The other three mention only the name of the place, *Impreſſ. apud ſanctum Jacobum de Ripoli.* The ſecond and third are dated 1478, the laſt is without date.

5. NICOLAS ALLEMANUS, or *Nicolas de Lorenzo Dallamagna*, and *Della Magna*, 5 edit. from 1477 to 1485.

6. NICOLAS *de Breſtaw*, 2 edit. 1478.

7. ANTONIUS BARTHOLOMÆI *Miſcomini*, 12 edit. from 1481 to 1494.

8. FRANC. *de Dino* of *Florence*, 2 edit. 1487, 1490.

THIS Printer work'd at *Naples* about the year 1480 as we have ſeen before; after which he remov'd to *Florence*, and printed the above-mention'd editions, the firſt of which wants the place's name, but is reaſonably ſuppos'd to have been printed there rather than at *Naples*, becauſe its character is different from that us'd at the latter.

9. ANTONIUS FRANCISCI *Venetian*, 1 edit. 1487.

10. DEMETRIUS CALCONDILLA MILANESE, *a native of Crete*, 1488.

HE was a perſon of admirable skill in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and at firſt a corrector of the preſs; but afterwards he turn'd Printer, firſt at *Florence*, and then at *Milan*, *anno* 1499, where we have mention'd him under that article. The only book known to have been printed by him at *Florence*, is a beautiful edition of *Homer* in *fol.* of which I have ſeen two copies. It is printed in a fine *Greek* character with a large margin and diſtance between the lines; and conſidering that it was the firſt volume printed in *Greek*, is a very curious and valuable piece, and bears the following title.

HOMERI *opera omnia cum textu Græco, Labore & Induſtriâ Demetrii Mediolanenſis Cretenſis. Sumptibus Bernardi Neriſii & Nerii Tenaidis Florentinorum*, fol. *idib. Jan. Florentiæ*, 1488.

11. FRANCIS BONA CORSI, 9 edit. from 1490 to 1499.

12. BARTHOLOMEW P. *Florentine*, 2 edit. 1492 1493.

13. LAU-

13. LAURENCE FRANCISCI *de* ALOPA, *Venetian*, 1494,

THIS was a very ingenious and famous Printer both in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues. *Jo. Andreas Laſcaris*, a noble *Grecian*, and one of the moſt diſtinguiſh'd criticks and poets of that time, deſigning to revive, as much as poſſible, the ſtudy of thoſe languages, eſpecially of the *Greek*, choſe this *Laurence* for his Printer, and corrected his copies. 'Tis remarkable that his editions in the *Greek* are all printed in fine capitals throughout, the uſe of which was till then unknown, if we except four or five to be met with in ſome old impreſſions and manuſcripts. Mr. *Mattaire* hath given us a ſhort ſpecimen of the firſt of theſe curious editions, with the preface of *Laſcaris*, in *Latin* capitals likewiſe, interſpers'd with *Greek* words; the figures and letters of which, as well as the number of words in each line, and of the lines in each page, anſwer exactly to thoſe of that edition. He hath added ſome remarks upon them, which the curious reader may find in his *Annales Typograph.* from p. 267 to 285. We have five editions of his, all in *Greek*, the firſt and ſecond are dated 1494 and 1496, the reſt are without date.

14. LAURENCE MORGIANI,
15. JOHN of *Mentz*, } 4 edit. from 1495 to 1497.

16. SOCIETAS COLUBRI [*or the fraternity of the Snake*] 1 edit. 1497.

17. PHILIP JUNTA or *de Junta*, 2 edit. 1497 and 1500 both *Greek*.

18. GERARD *de Harlem*, 1 edit. 1498.

19. LEONARD *de Arigis de Ceſoriaco*, 1 edit. 1499, beſides many others which have no Printers names.

Article III. *The City of* FERRARA, 1471.

FERRARA is an ancient city built in the time of *Theodoſius* II, ſurrounded afterwards with a ſtrong wall by the Exarch of *Ravenna:* it was made an univerſity by the Emperor *Ferdinand* II, and has always been famous for men of learning and valour and for ingenious artificers. *An.* 1598 it paſt from the dominion of the Marqueſſes of *Eſte* to that of the Popes

Popes of *Rome*, under which it has continu'd ever ſince: hither the Art of Printing was brought by one of its own citizens, *viz.*

1 ANDREAS GALLUS, 1471.

IT appears by the colophon to his firſt impreſſion, which you will find in the margin [1] that he was either a *Frenchman* or of *French* extraction, tho' a citizen of *Ferrara*, which laſt might be beſtow'd on him upon the account of his being the firſt perſon who ſet up his preſs there; the like encouragement having been given by many other cities to their firſt Printers: but whether he brought it thither from ſome other place, or devis'd it at home as *Cennini* did at *Florence*, is neither eaſy, nor very material, to gueſs: he was a good Printer and his editions are ſtill eſteem'd by the curious.

WE have but twelve of them extant from *ann.* 1471 to 1493.

THE reſt of the Printers of *Ferrara* are as follows,

2. CARNERIUS AUGUSTINUS whoſe father *Bernard Auguſtinus* was a bookſeller of the ſame city. We have four editions of his from 1474 to 1475 one of which, *viz. Boccacio* in *Italian* is the firſt poem printed in that language, it has neither date nor name of Printer or place, but the character ſhews it to be *Auguſtines.*

3. SEVERUS of *Ferrara*, 1 edit. 1476.

4. SEVERINUS bookſeller of *Ferrara*, but whether this and the former be the ſame, or father and ſon, is uncertain: we have but one edition of his, *viz. Alberti Trotti de vero & perfecto Clerico* 4to 1476, in which he writes himſelf *per Severinum Bibliopolam Ferrarienſem.* This edition *Orlandi* tells us was afterwards reprinted at *Lyons*, *ann.* 1535, with a *Latin* preface, importing that it was about ſeventy years ſince *Severinus* bookſeller had publiſh'd it at *Ferrara*, by which it would appear that he had printed it *ann.* 1465, even before either that city or even *Rome* had receiv'd the Art: our author therefore gueſſes the miſtake to be in the word *ſeptuageſimus annus*, which he thinks was printed inſtead of *ſexageſimus*, which laſt brings it almoſt to the very time.

[1] Impreſſi *Andreas* hoc opus cui *Francia* nomen
Trdaidit, at civis *Ferrarienſis* ego, &c.

5. THE fifth and laſt Printer was *Laurence Roſſi* or *Rubeus*, of whom we have 6 editions from 1492 to 1497.

THERE are a few more without Printers names, the laſt of which is the hiſtory of Pope *Joan* in *Italian* 1497.

Article I. *The City of* NUREMBERGH, 1472.

NUREMBERGH or *Norimbergh*, in *Latin Norimberga*, is a free city in *Germany* upon the confines of *Swabia*, *Franconia*, and *Bavaria*, ſituate upon the river *Pegnitz*. It was formerly a democratical commonwealth, but upon ſome domeſtick ſedition, it reduc'd itſelf to an ariſtocracy, in the reign of the emperor *Charles* IV, under the government of twenty four ſenators choſen out of ſo many of their ancienteſt families; which form of government hath been continued ever ſince. The city is very rich, large and populous, ſurrounded with a double wall above eight miles in circuit, and 180 lofty towers. It was always celebrated for producing the beſt artificers in every kind of handicraft, and particularly for a beautiful metal of their own making, call'd *Nurembergh* copper; the compoſition of which was kept with all imaginable ſecrecy within their walls, every workman being firſt ſworn to it; ſo that the metal was almoſt equally dear with ſilver; till about the latter end of the laſt century, one of their own citizens came over and ſold the ſecret here in *England*, which has made it more common, and conſequently leſſen'd the price of it. This metal I purpoſely chuſe to mention becauſe it was reckon'd very excellent for making of matrices, being far more ductile than the common copper, and not ſo apt to break the punches.

IT will be no eaſy matter to fix the time when the Art of Printing was brought to this city. *John Andreas Endters* a Printer of *Nuremberg*, who publiſh'd a piece on Printing, in *High Dutch*, *anno* 1722, and in it has given us an account of its progreſs in that city, acquaints us that he had met with ſome MS. annals, which affirm, that the Art was no ſooner found out at *Mentz*, but it was immediately communicated to *Nuremberg*, which did therefore receive it about the year 1444 according to one, or 1440 according to another. 'Tis true, our author is ſo far from being ſatisfy'd with their account, that he has even taken the pains to confute them from more authentic teſtimonies; however, tho'

I do

I do not deſign to enter into a detail of that diſpute, yet I could not forbear mentioning thus much, becauſe it ſerves to confirm a former obſervation, *viz.* that not only the Printers, but likewiſe the *Cities* themſelves have taken no ſmall pains to antedate their reſpective claims to this Art.

I have already taken notice in the firſt part of this hiſtory, *pag.* 22. that the diſcovery of the Art of Printing had been attributed by *Purbach*, and *Peter Ramus* to that learned mathematician and aſtronomer *John de Monte regio*, or *Regio-Montanus*, and mention'd *Manilius*'s aſtronomy printed by him without date or places name. Our *German* author acquaints us upon the authority of *Gaſſendi*, one of the *French* royal mathematicians, „ that *Regiomontanus* came to *Nuremberg* about *anno* 1471, „ with a deſign to ſet up a Printing-houſe there, in order to print his „ own works and thoſe of other learned men, with greater accuracy „ and ſpeed, and to improve the Art of Printing in ſeveral of its branch- „ es ; but that he met with ſo many obſtacles to his deſign, that he „ ſaw himſelf forc'd to make uſe of foreign Printing-houſes, ſuch as „ they were, till one *Bernard Walter* offer'd to bear the charges of erect- „ ing a Printing-houſe for him (as he likewiſe did towards many other „ curious inventions of his) and enabled him to print *Purbac*'s new „ theory, *Manilius*'s aſtronomy, and his own *Ephemerides* for the uſe of „ the publick.

Our author obſerves further, that as this account of *Gaſſendi*'s doth quite overturn *Peter Ramus*'s ſuppoſition of *Regiomontanus* being the inventor of the art, ſo it likewiſe ſhews him to have contributed much towards the improvement of it. It likewiſe proves that there were ſome Preſſes in this city before he came thither, but who they were that ſet them up, and what works they printed before that time, is what he has not been able to find out, becauſe they have no dates or Printer's names.

The oldeſt book he could find with a date, is the *Commeſtorium Vitiorum* of *Francis de Retza* a *Dominican Fryar* ; at the end of which are the words which you'll find in the margin [1] with this odd date ꝛc LXX°.

[1] Hic Codex egregius Comeſtorii vitiorum ſacre Theologie Profeſſoris eximii *Franciſci* de *Retza* Ordinis predicatorum finit feliciter. *Nuremberge anno* ꝛc LXX°. Patronarum formarumque Concordia & proportione impreſſus.

which

which our author ſeems to take for 1470. This book was afterwards reprinted by *Ant. Koburger anno* 1476, and afterwards *anno* 1496, under the following title, *Summa quæ deſtructorium vitiorum nominatur*, without Printer's name.

The author mentions another book of the ſame date, *viz. Gerſon*, chancellour of *Paris*, *Commentarium ſuper ſapientis hebrei cantica*, &c. but as neither of theſe have the Printer's name, we ſhall ſeek ſomewhere elſe for the firſt Printer of *Nuremberg*. According therefore to our propos'd method of the oldeſt edition known, that rank will fall upon.

I. Antony Koburger.

A perſon eminent for learning, and the number, elegancy and correctneſs of his editions, which gain'd him the title of the prince of Printers among the learned of his time. At firſt indeed his character, tho' of the *Venetian* ſort, was ſomewhat imperfect, and inferior to that of many of his cotemporaries; but he afterwards procur'd a new ſett, which hath been juſtly eſteem'd ever ſince as fine as any that have been us'd either before or after him. He was no leſs ſolicitous in correcting his works; ſo that tho' he was alone ſufficient for that task, yet he took the learned *Frederic Piſtorius* for his aſſiſtant. He ſpar'd no coſt nor pains in procuring the beſt manuſcripts, and always deſir'd the judgment of the learned before he ventur'd to print them. The great *Jodocus Badius* hath made this ſhort but juſt panegyric upon him, in a letter written to him *anno* 1499, and printed at the beginning of the works of *Angelus Politianus anno* 1519 [1]; That he was a great friend and lover of the learned, and indefatigable in printing the beſt copies faithfully, neatly and correctly. Mr. *Mattaire* hath given us an extract of this letter in his *Annales Typogr.* p. 79. by which the reader may ſee what eſteem this great man was in, not only among the learned, but likewiſe among the beſt Printers of his time; and it may be ſaid of him, that he printed more works than any of them, particularly bibles, of which the reader

[1] Litteratos omnes & colis & foves, pervigilemque curam ad bonos codices vere terſe & ſine mendis imprimendos adhibes.

will find no leſs than 12 editions ſtill extant, one of which is in 5, another in 6 volumes in folio, and a third with fine wooden cuts.

He was no leſs diligent in printing other works, and we are told by *John And. Endters*, "That he kept daily twenty four preſſes at work, "and employ'd no leſs than an hundred journeymen whom he main- "tain'd without doors; they had a ſet hour to come to work, and to "leave off, and he admitted none ſingle into his houſe but oblig'd them "to wait at his door till they were altogether, and then they were ad- "mitted in, and enter'd upon their reſpective works.

"He was likewiſe a conſiderable Bookſeller, and kept a ſpacious "printing-houſe at *Lyons* in *France*, where he had ſundry law-books "printed for him; beſides this, he had his factors and agents in the "moſt conſiderable cities in *Chriſtendom*, and kept ſixteen open ſhops "beſide ware-houſes, and in all of them a conſiderable ſtock of the beſt "books then extant, ſo that he never was at a loſs for any good edi- "tions to ſupply his cuſtomers with.

Thus he continued printing both at *Nuremberg* and at *Lyons* with great ſucceſs and applauſe, till the year 1501 if not beyond; however we don't find any edition of his of a more recent date, which makes me believe that he left off printing about that time. In 1513. *James Sachon* one of his workmen at *Lyons*, printed *Caſtellanus*'s *Latin* bible for him with this colophon, *Lugduni per Jacobum Sachon expenſis Antonii Koburger*. The ſame is likewiſe dated from *Nurembergh*, but is ſuppos'd to be the ſame edition with that of *Lyons*; he dy'd in this year after having been for ſome time a member of the chief council of *Nuremberg*; all the editions that we have of him, his bibles incluſive, from 1472 to 1500, amounts to but thirty ſeven, a number too inconſiderable for the many preſſes and workmen that he kept, which gives me room to hope that time will diſcover a great many more.

2. Mr. *Mattaire* p. 79 tells us of one *Adam* of *Amberg* [the metropolis of the *Bavarian* palatinate] who flouriſh'd *ann.* 1472, but doth not tell us where he wrought. Our German author ſays that he had met with a ſmall treatiſe in 4to. of a ſheet and half, with his name, and the city of *Nurembergh* at the end; ſo that he moſt probably reſided there, but tho' this work be without date, yet his edition of *Cicero*'s *Orationes* print-

ed

ed *ann.* 1472, tho' without places name, may be ſo far preſum'd to be done here, as to allow him the next place after *Koburger*,

THE reſt of the Printers of this city are as follows,

3. FREDERIC CREUSNER, 5 edit. from 1473 to 1479.
4. JOHN SENSENSCHMID of *Eger*,
5. HENRY KOLER of *Mentz*, and } 1473.
6. ANDREW FRISNER *de Wunſiedel*.

KOLER was a native of *Mentz*, and in all likelyhood one of *Fauſt*'s ſervants who left that city ſoon after it was taken, and took ſanctuary at *Nuremberg*.

THE laſt of theſe *viz. Friſner* after having been corrector and aſſiſtant to *John Senſenſchmid* till 1478, ſet up a Printing-houſe himſelf, which appears from many of his books which bear his name, as Printer and editor. He had ſtudy'd for ſome time in the univerſity of *Leipſick*, with a relation of his, *Eraſmus Friſner*, a Dominican Fryar, who tho' but twenty ſeven years of age had compos'd ſeveral books, the printing of which he committed to his kinſman *Andrew*, who printed them ſome time after at *Nurembergh* where he dwelt, as appears by ſeveral of his books from 1473 till 1478, after this having taken his degree of maſter of arts he remov'd again to *Leipſick*, where he was ſoon after choſen profeſſor of divinity, and attain'd even to the honour of *Rector Magnificus* of that univerſity, to which place he got all his Printing-tools convey'd: he went from thence to *Rome*, where pope *Julius* II. made him *Papæ & ſedis apoſtolicæ primarius ordinarius*. By his laſt will which he made at *Rome ann.* 1504, he left a noble legacy for the erection of a college at *Wonſiedel*, for the education and maintenance of young ſtudents of the family of the *Friſner*'s which they enjoy to this day, he left them alſo his *Hiſtoria Lombardica* which he had printed whilſt at *Leipſick*. He likewiſe bequeath'd all his printing materials to the convent of the dominicans of *Leipſick*, and expreſſes himſelf thus, *Item, I leave my iron cheſt, preſſes, inſtruments and other utenſils and materials for printing, together with twenty floren. rheniſh to pray for my ſoul and for buying the monks a better dinner than they us'd to have in the Prior's refectory——the day when they perform my obſequies.*

WHAT uſe the monks made of the Printing-preſs, *&c.* I can no where find: we have but four editions printed by the aforeſaid three partners from 1473 to 1487.

7. CONRARD LENTORIUS. We have but one *Latin* Bible with the apoſtills of *Nich. de Lyra* fol. 1482.

8. GEORGE STUCHS or *Flucks de Sultzbach*, we have but one miſſal of his, adorn'd with rubricks 1484.

9. GASPAR HOCHFEDER, our German author calls him *Hochfelder.* 2 edit. 1491 and 1494.

WITH about 60 more without Printers names.

MR. ENDTERS mentions ſome other Printers before 1500, but as he gives us no account of their works, we ſhall ſay no more of them.

BEFORE I eave the city of *Nuremberg* I cannot but take notice that it is alſo famous for being the native place, and conſtant reſidence of the great Painter, Engraver, Mathematician and Printer *Albert Durer.*

MARK ANTONIO, *Raphael*'s learned engraver, gives him this character, ſpeaking of his ſkill in engraving and of his other excellent talents; „ That if ſo excellent, ſo exact, and ſo univerſal a genius had „ been cultivated in *Tuſcany*, inſtead of *Germany*, and had form'd his „ ſtudy according to the excellent pieces which he might have ſeen at „ *Rome*, as the reſt of our celebrated painters have done, he would have „ prov'd the beſt in that reſpect that *Italy* ever produc'd, as he really „ was the greateſt and moſt accompliſh'd genius that *Germany* could „ ever boaſt of.

THIS great man was born *ann.* 1471. His father obſerving the early marks of his genius to all the liberal ſciences, ſpar'd no coſt to have it improv'd by all poſſible means (travelling excepted) and by the beſt maſters in *Germany*. But tho' his other talents have been highly celebrated by the learned, yet I never met with any who took notice of his having been a printer, (no not even his countryman and fellow-citizen, author of a Piece on the Subject of Printing &c. in *Nuremberg*, mentioned in the beginning of this article) tho' ſeveral of his works are preſerv'd in divers libraries both publick and private. I have ſeen ſome of them very

very beautiful, nor do I doubt but that his genius for painting and engraving, led him to the other two branches of cutting upon wood and Printing, that he might be able to perform the whole work himſelf, without the danger of having any part of it ſpoil'd by unſkilful hands, and the better to print the deſcriptions of his cuts, *&c.* in a more elegant manner than cou'd poſſibly be done in wood. His improvement in the art of engraving or cutting upon wood, was carried by him to its utmoſt perfection, as all perſons muſt own who have ſeen any of his works.

The part of ſhadowing which is call'd croſs-hatching, and which has been loſt for many years, and conducted (if not wholly invented) by him with ſuch extraordinary beauty and truth, join'd to the uncommon luſtre of his ink, has ſurpaſs'd all the wood-cutters ever ſince. His reaſon for preferring this method of cutting on wood to that of copper plates; were; 1. The rouling-preſs, which is wholly us'd in the later, was not then ſo perfect as ſince; 2. His moſt conſiderable works (of which he was the author, for he ſcarce printed any other) being chiefly geometry, perſpective, fortification and architecture as well as hiſtory, wooden cutts were much the more eligible method upon ſeveral accounts, eſpecially when cut by ſuch a maſterly hand as his. The only difficulty was to make it ſubſervient to his hiſtory-pieces; but that he eaſily ſurmounted by the ſtrength of his genius; and thoſe who have ſeen any of his performances even in this kind, will readily own that nothing of that nature ever equall'd them. His uſual mark was the initial letters of his name AD joyn'd together thus  but his moſt effectual way to prevent counterfeits was by giving his works a degree of beauty never yet attain'd to.

With reſpect to his Printing, I have already hinted, that he ſeldom meddled with any works but his own, as I can find; but as I have met with none done before the year 1500, tho' he probably entred into that province before that time; I ſhall not trouble the reader with a liſt of them, but content my ſelf with ſubjoining an account of a few of the moſt conſiderable, which I have ſeen: They are eſteem'd by the learned maſter-pieces of the kind, and preſerv'd as monuments of the author's merit, being as follow;

1. The

1. The hiſtory of the *Apocalypſe*, conſiſting of a fine ſet of draughts upon that ſubject, all cut upon wood with his own hand, and with the utmoſt beauty and truth.

2. The hiſtory of the *four goſpels*, done after the ſame manner, and with the ſame beauty. Both theſe ſets are printed with the common preſs, with explanations and hiſtorical accounts of the deſigns placed either under them, or on the other ſide, or upon a diſtinct leaf. They are both in *fol.*

3. His book of proportions, which he did not live to finiſh, but was printed by his widow after his death, is likewiſe eſteem'd another maſterpiece in that kind. I ſhall only add, that the ſingular beauty of his ink, the excellency of the Preſs work, and in a word, the exactneſs of his performances do juſtly rank him amongſt the greateſt genius's of the age. I hope therefore the reader will excuſe this digreſſion in favour of a perſon to whom the world owes the great improvements made in the art of cutting upon wood, which has been ſo ſerviceable to the Printers in the ornamental part of their works.

Article V. *The City of* VERONA.

Verona, an ancient city in *Lombardy*, famous for ſome noble relicks of the old *Roman* architecture, ſuch as amphitheatres, triumphal arches, *&c.* which ſtill retain ſome part of their former magnificence, is likewiſe remarkable for having been the native place of ſeveral eminent perſons, in particular, of *Cornelius Nepos*, *Emilius Maurus*, *Pliny*, *Vitruvius*, *Guarini*, and others. It receiv'd the Art of Printing very ſoon, yet made but ſmall advantage of it. We find very few Printers in it, and we have but a ſmall number of their works left. The firſt of them was;

I. John *de* Verona.

Who was a native of *Verona*, and ſon to *Nicolas* a doctor of phyſic, and the firſt who ſet up a Printing-preſs in that city, as appears by the colophon

colophon of the only book extant of his, *viz. Valturius de re militari liber.* fol. *per Jo. Veronenſ. Veronæ*[1]. anno 1472.

2. Felix Antiquarius &
3. Innocent Zileti. } we have but 1 edit. of theirs, dated 1476.

4. Peter Maufer, 1480.

Peter Maufer, was a Frenchman and an excellent Printer. The firſt place where he ſet up his preſs was the city of *Padua*, about 1474, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place. Thence he came to *Verona* in 1479, and after a ſhort ſtay there, went to *Venice* in 1483, and aſſociated himſelf with *Nicol. Contengo*, as mention'd in the chapter of that city. We have only the following book printed by him here.

Josephi *opera Latinè, Ludovico Contrada interprete*, fol *per Petrum Maufer Gallicum*, oct. cal. Jan. pont. max. Sixto 4. Venetorum duce Joanne Mocenigo, *in inclytâ civitate Veronæ* 1480.

5. Bonino *de* Bonini *de* Ragusio, 1482.

Who printed at firſt in the city of *Venice*, with *Andreas de Paltaſichis anno* 1478; whence he remov'd to *Verona*, and at laſt to *Breſcia*, where he continued printing much longer; we have but three of his editions done at *Verona*, 1482 and 1483.

6. Paul Fridenperger of *Paſſaw* in *Germany*, 1 edit. 1486. with a ſmall number without Printer's names.

Article 6. *The City of* PARMA, 1472.

Parma is another ancient city in *Lombardy*, call'd by the Romans *Gallia Ciſalpina*, ſituate in a very pleaſant large plain, and ſo well furniſh'd with paſture ground, that it is recorded by *Martial* for the great number of cattel it bred, *Tondet & innumeros Gallica Parma greges.* It

[1] Joannes ex Verona oriundus Nicolai Cyrurgiæ Medici filius, Artis impreſſoriæ Magiſter hunc de Re Militari librum Literis & figuratis ſignis in ſua Patria primus impreſſit, M CCCC LXXIII.

was

was once under the pope's government, and given by *Paul* III. to his nephews, with the title of dukes of *Parma*, under whom it has continu'd ever ſince. Tho' this city receiv'd the Art of Printing ſo early as the year 1472, yet it had but very few artificers, and a ſmall number of editions printed there. It may indeed be reaſonably ſuppos'd that theſe being ſo much inferior to thoſe of *Venice*, *Rome*, *Paris*, *&c.* have been moſtly deſtroy'd; and the ſame may be ſaid of many other cities. However *Parma* deſerves to be remember'd, if not for the number and excellency of her Printers, yet for having given birth to ſome of the greateſt of that time, who were (perhaps for want of ſufficient encouragement here) oblig'd to ſettle in other parts of *Italy*. Among theſe were the famous *Antony Zarot*, who printed at *Milan* a great many fine and correct volumes, as we have ſhewn under that article, *Fauſto*, *Vincenzo*, and *Pellegrino del Bonardi*, and *Bartholomew de Parma* in *Bologna*, and *Matthew Capcaſa* in *Venice*, *Mich. Manzoli* in *Treviſo*, with many more whoſe name and place of birth, *&c.* the reader will find in the article of each of thoſe cities. The firſt book, we meet with printed here, is the works of the famous lawyer *Baldus*; but hath no Printer's name, tho' it is dated at *Parma ann.* 1471. However 'tis probable it was printed by *Stephen Corali*, a native of *Lyons*, who is the firſt in our liſt, and printed (or rather might reprint) the ſame work the year following.

1. Stephen Corali, 5 edit. from 1473 to 1476.
2. Augustine Genoensis (or of *Genoa*) 1 edit. 1477.
3. Andrea Portilia, 4 edit. from 1479 to 1481.
4. Angelo Ugoletti *de Parma*, 4 edit. from 1493 to 1499.

And near twenty more without Printers names.

Article VII. MANTUA.

Mantua one of the moſt ancient cities of *Lombardy*, ſituate in the middle of an iſland, form'd by the river *Mincio*, had its name and origin from *Manto* daughter of *Tireſias* a Theban augur, ſhe bore a ſon call'd *Ocnus*, who built a city near the river *Po*, and from his mother's name call'd it *Mantoa* or *Mantua*. After a great variety of changes, it is now ſubject to the houſe of *Auſtria*. It has given birth to many learned men

both

both ancient and modern, and particularly to the immortal *Virgil.* This city cannot boaſt of any great merit with reſpect to the Art of Printing, except that it was brought thither *ann.* 1472 by ſome *Germans*, who came to ſettle there; but, as it is probable, for want of encouragement, were oblig'd to remove. We find but four of theſe Printers at the moſt, and at a conſiderable diſtance of time from each other. Of the two firſt we know but one edition; and two of each of the reſt, as will appear from the following liſt.

1. GEORGE, and 2. PAUL, *Germans*, 1 edit. 1472.

3. PAUL JOHN *de Burſchbach*, of the dioceſs of *Mentz*, who was perhaps the ſame with *Paul German* the latter of the two foregoing, who takes now the name of his native town inſtead of that of his nation, 2 edit. 1479, 1481.

4. VINCENT BERTOCH of *Reggio*, 2 edit. 1493, 1498: and ſome others which have no Printers names.

Article VIII. *The City of* DERVENTER, 1472.

DERVENTER [in *Latin Daventria*] in *lower Germany*, near the river *Iſſel* upon the confines of *lower Gelderland*, near the city of *Utrecht* began to practiſe the Art of Printing *ann.* 1472. The 1ſt impreſſion done here, *viz. Prudentius Aurelius Poeta Hiſpanus his poems*, 4to. has no Printer's name, but is dated *Daventriæ* 1472.

2. RICHARD PAFRADIUS, 1 edit. 1481.

3. JAMES *de Breda*, 4 edit. from 1490 to 1497, with about twenty more without Printers names.

Article IX. *The City of* PADUA, 1472.

PADUA or *Padova*, in *Latin Patavia* or *Patavium*, (ſo call'd by *Antenor* the firſt founder of it, in compliment to his companions, who were *Paphlagonians*, and for whoſe ſakes he call'd it by the name of their metropolis) is a rich, ancient and noble city upon the river *Brento*, and now under the government of the *Venetian* republick, famous for its hot baths and mineral waters, and reſorted to from all parts of *Europe.* It

is one of the laſt cities we know of that receiv'd this Art in the year 1472. in which tho' it was not very eminent either for the number of Printers or impreſſions, yet it publiſh'd ſeveral curious editions, which had not as yet appear'd in any of the foregoing cities. The two firſt Printers were;

1. BARTHOLOMEW *de Val de Zochio* of *Padua*, &c.
2. MARTIN *de Septem Arboribus*, } }

OF theſe we have but three editions, 1472, 1473, 1474.

3. PETER MAUFER whom we have already mention'd under the articles of *Venice* and *Verona*: we have four editions of his printed at *Padua* from 1474 to 1479.

4. LAURENCE CANOZIUS *de Lendenaro*, 1 edit. 1474.

5. ALBERT *de Stendalia*, 1 edit. 1475.

6. JOHN HERBERT or *Herbort*, 3 edit. 1476, 1482; and one without date or places name.

7. ANTON. *de Carcano*, 1 edit. 1478.

8. MATTHEW *de Cerdonis de Windiſchegrets*, 5 edit. from 1482 to 1487.

9. MOSES *de Caſtello*, 1 edit. 1492.

10. JEROM *de Duranti*, 1 edit. 1493, he wrought alſo in *Pavia* with *Chriſtopher de Canibus*, *ann.* 1488.

11. LEWIS or *Alois de Como*, &c. } 1 edit. 1497.
12. BARTHOLOMEW *de Troſſis*, }

With a few more without Printers names.

CHAP. IX.

The Cities of 1 Louvain, 2 Ulms, 3 Utrecht, *ann.* 1473. 4 Turin, 5 Genoa, 6 Breſcia, 7 Aloſt, *ann.* 1474.

Article 1. *The City of* LOUVAIN.

LOUVAIN, in *Latin Lovanium*, is a large populous and well fenced city, the capital of all *Brabant*, and one of the moſt frequented univerſities in *Europe*, founded by *John* duke of *Brabant anno* 1426.

1426. It abounds with magnificent colleges and other ſumptuous edifices, according to that of the poet.

Poſtea Muſarum Sedem, Collegiaque ampla
——— Lovani *aſpicienda dedit.*

It is likewiſe famous for the vaſt number of its ſtudents, eſpecially in divinity; tho' the reader will ſcarce forbear wondering what ſort of divines they muſt have been, when we tell him that they had the Art of Printing near thirty years, *i. e.* from 1472 to 1500, and God knows how far beyond, and never printed one ſingle bible in all that time, at leaſt as I can find in any annaliſt; whereas we have obſerv'd that a *Nuremberg* Printer, namely, *Ant. Koburger* printed at leaſt a dozen in that time; the truth is, if we judge by the ſmall number of workmen and of impreſſions done here, we ſhall be apt to think that the Art of Printing met with but ſmall encouragement; ſince if we except the firſt Printer, of whom we ſhall ſpeak preſently, I can find but two more till the year 1500, after which whoever examines the ſecond volume of Mr. *Mattaire*'s *Annales Typographici*, will find them run much thinner of either.

The firſt preſs was ſet up here by;

1. John *de Weſtphalia* of *Paderbourn* 1473, an eminent Printer invited to *Louvain* by ſome of the heads of that univerſity, where he continu'd printing till *ano.* 1495, if we except 2 editions printed in his name if not by him; the firſt in the town of *Aloſt* in *Flanders* not far from that of *Louvain anno* 1474, as ſhall be mention'd at the end of this chapter; and the other, *viz. Epiſtola de Simonia Vitanda*, &c. *per rev'. Magiſt. Engelbertum Cultificis*, &c. *Novimagii* 9 Julii 1479.

We have nineteen editions of his from 1473 to 1495 ſome of which are without date, place, or Printer's name; but eaſily known to be his by the character.

2. John Veldener, 2 edit. of the *Faſciculus Temporum*, 1474 and 1476.

3. Egidius Vender Heerstraten, 2 edit. 1486 to 1487.

And five or ſix more without Printer's name.

Article II. *The City of* ULMS.

ULMS a conſiderable city in *High Germany*, ſituate near the *Danube*, between *Ausburg*, *Conſtance* and *Strasburgh*, and famous for the fineſt linnen and cambrick, with which it furniſhes moſt parts of *Europe*, began to ſet up the Art of Printing ſometime before the year 1473.

1. JOHN ZEINER *de Reutlingen*, 1473.

WAS the firſt who practis'd it there. He was a native of *Reutlingen* a ſmall city in the duchy of *Wirtembergh*, which we have mention'd as one of the firſt in *Germany* that receiv'd the art, *viz. ann.* 1469. This Printer was, in all probability, the ſon or brother of *Gunter Zeiner*, who work'd at *Ausburgh* from *ann.* 1470, and is mention'd under that article *p.* 122. We have but nine editions of his from 1473 to 1484, two of which are the *Latin Bible* fol. and one, *viz. Alvarius Pelagius de planctû Eccleſiæ* 1473, 2 *vol. fol.* in large paper, is reckon'd a very curious as well as ſcarce edition: he uſed to ſubſcribe himſelf ſometimes *Jo. Zeiner de Reutlingen* or *Reutlinga*, and ſometimes *Jo. Zeiner Ulmenſis Oppidi Incolam.*

2. LEONARD HOL citizen of *Ulm*, 1 edit. 1482.

3. JOHN REGER *de Kemnat*, 5 edit. from 1486 to 1497.

Article III. *The City of* UTRECHT.

UTRECHT [in *Latin Ultra trajectum*] a city in *Flanders* upon the *Rhine*, and ſubject to the emperor of *Germany*, receiv'd the Art of Printing about *ann.* 1473, if not before; but its productions have been ſo few and inconſiderable that no annaliſt, *De la Caille* and F. *Orlandi* excepted, has taken any notice of them; and even the latter has been able to diſcover no more than three editions, little remarkable either for bulk or beauty, for which reaſon I ſuppoſe they are all three without Printer's name.

Article

Article IV. *The City of* TURIN.

TURIN [in *Latin Taurinum*] the capital of *Piedmont*, and reſidence of the dukes of *Savoy* now kings of *Sardinia*, is ſituate upon the river *Durio* nigh the *Po*, near the weſtern *Alps*. It is a large rich and populous city and univerſity, ſtrongly fortify'd, and adorn'd with magnificent palaces, churches and edifices. It receiv'd the Art of Printing about *ann.* 1474. The firſt artiſts who ſet up their preſſes here were,

1. JOHN FABRI and
2. JOHANNINUS *de Petro*, } 1475.

THESE two printed together at firſt as appears by their firſt impreſſion, *viz. Breviarium Romanum fol.* per *Jo. Fabri* and *Johanninum de Petro*: but *Fabri* aſſociated himſelf with *Martin Huz* a Printer of the city of *Lyons*, with whom he printed ſome editions, and ſome by himſelf: however he continu'd ſtill at *Turin*, and we have three editions more of his printed there by himſelf from 1477 to 1487, wherein he ſubſcribes himſelf *Jo-Fabri Lingonenſis*; as for his partner we have nothing of him but the breviary abovemention'd.

3. NICOLAS *de Benedictis* and
4. JACOPIN SVIGUS } 4 edit. from 1492 to 1494.

Article V. *The City of* GENOA, 1474.

GENOA [in *Latin Januæ*] is a rich populous ancient city, the metropolis of *Liguria*, and capital of the republick of *Genoa*: it is fam'd for having given birth to *Chriſtopher Columbus* the firſt diſcoverer of *America*, and for the greatneſs and extent of her maritime trade: we meet with two noted Printers, who came and ſet up their preſſes there, *ann.* 1474, *viz.*

1. MATTHIAS MORAVUS *de Olomuntz* and
2. MICHEL MONK or *de Monacho* } 1474.

BUT whether that city choſe to drive any other trade, rather than that of books, or whether they found it already furniſhed from other places, and ſo met with but ſmall encouragement; or for whatever other reaſon, 'tis certain they tarry'd not long there. For *Moravus* printed but one

one book in company with *Monk*, and the next year remov'd to *Naples*, where he continued 'till *ann.* 1490, as hath been ſaid in the article of that city; and we hear no further of *Monk*. The book they printed here is,

Supplementum ſummæ quæ Piſanella vocatur, fol. *per* Matthiam Moravum *de* Olomuntz & Michaelem *de* Monacho *ſocium ejus*, x *kal. Julii Milleſimo quadringenteſimo* LIJ. *quarto*; where (LIJ ſtands for LXX) 1474.

It is very likely, that the ill ſucceſs of theſe two Printers, frighten'd others from coming thither, for we don't meet with any that ventur'd to ſettle there after them, 'till a long time after the cloſe of the century.

Article VI. *The City of* BRESCIA.

Brescia, in *Latin Brixia*, an ancient and noble city in *Lombardy*, now under the republick of *Venice*, gave much greater encouragement to the Art of Printing, than ſome of the laſt nam'd cities. About the year 1474.

1. Henry *of* Cologn, *and* 2. Statius Gallicus.

Came and ſettled here, and printed the following book, the only one yet known to be printed by them here, *viz.*

Homeri Iliades per Laurentium Vallenſem *in Latinum ſermonem traductæ* &c. viii *kal. Decemb. per* Henr. Colonienſem & Statium Gallicum. *Brixiæ* 1474.

3. Boninus *de* Boninis *of* Ragusio, 1480.

Whose firſt works were printed at *Verona*, *ann.* 1473, as has been ſaid. Thence he remov'd to *Breſcia*, where he continu'd printing 'till *ann.* 1486.

His corrector was *Marcus Scaramuccinus* of *Palazzolo*: there are 10 editions of his printed at *Breſcia* from 1480 to 1486.

4. Bartholom. Versellensis Printer and bookſeller, 1 edition 1482.

5. James
6. Angel } Britannicus, brothers, of the city of *Breſcia*, 1485.

The

THE firſt of theſe was ſome time partner to *John de Forlivio* at *Venice* about the year 1483, as you'll find *pag.* 149; after which he came to his own city *Breſcia*, and printed ſometimes by himſelf, and ſometimes with his brother *Angelo:* his corrector was a Franciſcan monk nam'd *Angel de Montelmo:* we have 11 edit. of the former, from 1485 to 1498: and 2 with both their names, *ann.* 1496.

7. ARNOLD *de Arundis*, 1 edit. without date.

8. RABBI GHERSON, 1492.

RABBI GHERSON was the ſon of *R. Moſes* a jew of *Soncino*, where *Hebrew* firſt began to be printed: he ſettled firſt at *Breſcia*, where he printed the two following editions in *Hebrew*, viz.

Mechaberith Rabb. Immanuelis, per Rabbi Gherſon, Brixiæ, 1492.

Biblia Hebraicé, 8vo, *per* Gerſonem *F.* Moſis Soncinatem, *ibid* 1494.

CHEVILLIER tells us likewiſe *p.* 265, that he printed alſo at *Riminium* in *Romania*, a *Hebrew* edition intitled, *Col bo* without date: after this he remov'd his preſs to *Conſtantinople*, where he printed ſeveral other *Hebrew* works 'till the year 1530, in which he is ſuppos'd to have dy'd.

9. BERNARDINE MISENTI *de Pavia* came firſt from *Cremona*, where he had printed in company with *Cæſar de Parma*, *ann.* 1492: we have but 2 edit. of his done at *Breſcia* from 1495 to 1497.

10. FRANCIS LAURINI citizen of *Breſcia*, we have only one edition of his, *viz. Homer*'s *Iliads* tranſlated into *Latin* by *Laur. Valla*, corrected by *Baptiſta Farſengus* a prieſt of that city, 1497: it has no place's name, but is ſuppos'd to be done at *Breſcia*.

THERE are about 20 edit. more without Printer's names.

Article VII. *The City of* ALOST.

ALOST is a ſmall town in *Flanders* upon the river *Tever* between *Bruſſels* and *Gaunt*, in which the following Printers ſet up their preſſes, *viz.*

1. JOHN *de Weſtphalia*,
2. THEODORIC MARTIN of *Aloſt*, } 1474.

THE

THE former of theſe, a native of *Paderborn*, printed in the city of *Louvain*, *ann.* 1473, 'till 1475, as we have ſhewn in that article. We find likewiſe a book printed by him at *Aloſt*, *ann.* 1474 in company with *Theodoric Martin*, a native of it, as follows;

Liber prædicabilium, 8vo, *per* Jo. de Weſtphalia Paderbonenſem *cum* Theodorico Martini, *Maii die ſexto in* Aloſto oppido comitatus Fland. 1474.

THEODORIC MARTIN afterwards printed by himſelf, firſt at *Aloſt* 'till 1490; then at *Antwerp*, *ann.* 1509, and at *Louvain*, *ann.* 1516. His mark us'd to be a ſhield hanging upon a vine with T. M. tho' at other times, he made uſe of two anchors with his name *Theodoric Martin excudebat*. His impreſſions at *Aloſt* are but three in number, *viz.* two dated 1487, and the laſt 1490.

CHAP. X.

The Cities of Baſil, Placentia, Pignerol, Eſling, Vincenza, Lubeck *and* Valentia, *ann.* 1475; Roſtock *and* Bruges, *ann.* 1476. *At* Baſil, *particulars relating to* Amerbach *and* Froben; *the Characters and Names of the other Printers, and Number of their Impreſſions, 'till the Year* 1500.

Article I. *The City of* BASIL, 1475.

BASIL, call'd in *Latin Baſilea*, and by *Ptolemy*, *Auguſta Rauricorum*, is an ancient city and univerſity in *Switzerland*, water'd by the two great rivers *Rhine* and *Briſe*, which being navigable, increaſe very much the commerce and riches of it; ſo that in ſpite of all the calamities it has ſuffer'd in war, it is one of the moſt opulent cities of *Germany*. The univerſity is likewiſe very celebrated for learned men in all ſciences, and was founded *ann.* 1460, and endow'd with privileges equal to any univerſity in *Europe*, by pope *Pius* II. In this city pope *Martin* V. call'd a council, *ann.* 1431; ſoon after which it became famous for the improve-

ments,

ments, which the Art of Printing, brought thither in or before the year 1475, receiv'd from ſome of its artificers; who have been generally the beſt and moſt learned Printers in *Europe*, and publiſh'd the moſt elegant and correct editions of the ancient fathers, and of the *Greek* and *Latin* claſſicks. Of this number were *John Amerbach* and *John Froben*, of whom we ſhall give an account in the ſequel of this article.

THE firſt book we meet with printed here, has no Printer's name; nor is it poſſible to gueſs from the character, or any thing elſe in the edition, who 'twas done by: It is as follows;

Roberti de Licio opus quadrageſimale, Baſileæ 1475.

1. BERNARD RICHEL, 1477.

A citizen of *Baſil*, and an excellent Printer, was the firſt who put his name to his editions there; we have but three of them. The firſt is his *Biblia Latina*, fol. *per* Bernardum Richel *civem* Baſiliæ 1477; the other two are dated 1478, 1482.

2. MICHEL WENKLER, 7 edit. from 1477 to 1486.

THE laſt of his impreſſions, *viz. Gaſparini Pergamenſis Epiſtolæ*, 4to. F. *Orlandi* tells us in his liſt *p.* 166. that this has neither date nor Printer's name; but Mr. *Mattaire* gives us the ſame edition under the names of *Michel Wenkler* and *Fred. Biel*, with ſome verſes at the end, as you'll find in that author, *Annal. Typogr.* p. 375, only he or his Printer has miſtaken *Parmenſis* for *Pergamenſis*.

3. NICHOLAS KESLER citizen of *Baſil*, 1486.

OF whom we have a *Biblia Sacra* printed at *Antwerp*, *ann.* 1487, and five other editions at *Baſil*, from 1486 to 1494: his firſt edition, *viz. Textus Sententiarum*, *fol.* has the colophon which you will find in the margin, in imitation of *Fauſt*, *Schoeffer* and others [a].

HIS laſt work, *viz. Libri defloration*um does not bear *Keſler*'s name; yet it being printed in the ſame character with the former, is eaſily known

[a] Anno domini milleſimo quadringenteſimo octuageſimo ſexto, octavo nonas Martii, non atramentali penna cannave, ſed quadam ingeniоſa arte imprimendi, cunctipotenti aſpirante deo, in egregia urbe *Baſilienſi Nicolaus Keſler feliciter conſummavit.*

to be his. It hath at the beginning the image of an old man with a triple face, and these words over it, *Sancta Trinitas.*

4. John Amerbach, 1481.

John Amerbach, one of the most excellent and learned Printers of his time, was at first a student at *Paris*, under the famous *Jo. Lapidanus* or *a Lapide*, who, being rector of that university, invited the three *Germans* thither. *Amerbach* follow'd his studies 'till he attain'd to the degree of master of arts, soon after which he came to *Basil*, and set up the Art of Printing, for which he became as famous, as he had been before for his learning.

What countryman he was is not easy to determine. Some *French* annalists challenge him for theirs, and *Orlandi* calls him a *Parisian*, tho' perhaps on no other account, than that he studied so long in that university. His name is unquestionably *German*; but neither the colophons of his editions, nor his epitaph, make any mention of his country; for which reason, we shall not pretend to affirm any thing upon that head. His first care at his entrance into the business of Printing was to get a font of the most perfect round Roman, which however he made no use of in his books of divinity, the prevailing custom of those days being to print them in old Gothic. His next was to procure some of the best correctors of that age, of whom, tho' no person was more capable of correcting his works than himself, he had a greater number than any of his contemporaries. Among these were *Martin Dodo* a prebend, *Francis Wyler* a learned Franciscan fryar, *Conrard Pelican* an eminent divine, *Beatus Rhenanus* and others. He was so carefull and diligent in this province, that he would not let one sheet pass unrevis'd by himself. *Reuchlin* gives us this character of him in the preface to his book *De verbo mirifico*, that he was a man of an excellent genius, highly valuable for the neatness and correctness of his works, and well skill'd in several arts and sciences. His former master *Jo. Lapidanus* assures us[1], that he never read any books bet-

[1] Istud ego non favoris, sed veritatis gratia ausim dicere, quod non legerim libros hac arte effictos, quos tuis emendatiores exactiorique stilo consummatos probaverim. Vide *Chevil.* p. 128.

ter

ter or more correctly printed than his. As *Amerbach* was a man of ſingular piety and zeal for religion, which appears from all his prefaces, that ſcarce breathe any thing elſe; ſo he rather choſe to conſecrate his labours to that, than any other branch of learning. This induc'd him to print the works of all the ancient fathers, a taſk hitherto unattempted by any Printer. He began with an edition of St. *Auſtin*, which he finiſh'd not 'till the year 1505, in the old Gothic. But as he neither had a good manuſcript to print after, nor ſufficient aſſiſtance from the learned; we can only ſay that it was executed as correctly, as could be expected in thoſe times. What he had moſt at heart was to publiſh St. *Jerom*'s works, which, as he knew was impoſſible to be done without a competent ſkill in the *Latin*, *Greek* and *Hebrew* tongues, the laſt of which he was too old and full of buſineſs to learn, he made his three ſons, youths of bright parts, divide that province among themſelves; who having ſtudy'd thoſe languages, were oblig'd by him, whether he liv'd or dy'd, to finiſh that edition; which they faithfully perform'd. But as this taſk, wherein he was engaged, was too large for one man, he took the learned *John Froben*, whom we ſhall mention hereafter, into partnerſhip, and printed ſeveral valuable and diſtinct volumes with him. The greateſt part of theſe particulars we have from *Eraſmus*, in his prefaces to St. *Auſtin* and St. *Jerom*, which later edition he revis'd and publiſh'd *anno* 1515, with a dedication to the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. He highly extolls the piety of the *Amerbachs*, he praiſes the father for having taken ſuch care of his ſons education; and the ſons for the great progreſs they made in thoſe tongues, and for their piety in having ſo exactly fulfill'd their father's deſire, in the impreſſion of a work, which had coſt them ſo much money and pains; he frankly owns, that as he ſtood in great need of ſome aſſiſtance for the *Hebrew* tongue, ſo he was chiefly beholden to thoſe three learned brothers for it [1]. *Jodocus Badius* another eminent Printer gives

[1]. D. *Eraſm.* præfat. ad *S. Hieron* opera. ——— Quod idem fecimus in Hebraicis, verum hac ſane in parte, quod minus noſtro marte poteramus, aliorum ſuppetiis præſtititimus, præcipue fratrum *Amerbachiorum*, *Bruno-nis*, *Baſilii*, & *Bonifacii*. quos optimus pater *Joannes Amerbachius* velut inſtaurandis bonis authoribus genitos, trium linguarum peritia curavit inſtruendos. Atque hi ſane paternum animum & expectationem vicerunt etiam, nihil antiquius ducentes *Hieronymi* gloria, & hac gratia nec impendio parcentes nec valetudini. *Maittaire Annal. Typogr.* vol. 1. pag. 142, 143.

their father the following encomium[1]; that he was a man of indefatigable induſtry, and conſummate ſkill in correcting the errors of corrupt copies; and adds, that if all Printers would but follow his example, they would be in much higher reputation with the learned, than they were.

He continu'd printing 'till the year 1528, and dyed whilſt his ſecond impreſſion of St. *Auſtin* was in the preſs. It will not be amiſs to repeat here a caution, which we have elſewhere given the reader, not to confound this *John Amerbach* with *John Averbach* of *Reutlingen*, who printed there a *Latin* bible in *fol. ann.* 1469, after which we hear no more of him. *La Caille* makes them to be the ſame perſon, led undoubtedly into that error by the likeneſs of their names; whereas the diſtance of time between them, *viz.* from 1469 to 1481, the different ſpelling of their names, with other obvious circumſtances, might eaſily have ſhewn him the miſtake. Mr. *Mattaire*, in the place before quoted, hath collected a great number of extracts out of prefaces, epiſtles, and other works of the learned, in praiſe of him; and it muſt be own'd, that too much could not be ſaid in a man's commendation, who had ſpent near 50 years in the ſervice of religion with ſuch conſtant zeal and application. I ſhall refer the reader to that author for them, and only add the epitaph, which his youngeſt ſon *Boniface* caus'd to be ſet upon his tomb.

EPITAPHIUM.

Joannes Amerbachius *hic cubat*
Cum Barbara Ortenbergia *ſingul. pudicit. fœmina,*
Ac Brunone Baſilioque, *filiis,*
Præpropere quidem hinc ereptis.
Sed ante tamen eruditione ſua trilingui
Per laborioſiſſ. Hieronym. *operum recognitionem*
Quibus nunc Docti ubique gentium fruuntur,
Orbi toto commendata.
Bonifacius Amerbachius
Parentibus & fratribus optimis,

[1] —— Indefatigabili virum diligentia, & ſolertiſſima vitiorum expungendorum peritia —— cujus viri ſi omnes ſimiles eſſemus — longe plures apud literatos haberemur. *Jodoc. Bad, epiſt. ad Anton. Coburger, ann.* 1499.

Sed

Sed & Marthæ Fuſchiæ
Uxori ſuæ Chriſtianarum virtutum dotibus incomparabili,
Cum Urſula *ac* Hertexe *duabus filiolis.*
Hic quieſcenti:
Item ſibi ipſi liberis ſuis ſuperſtitibus
Fauſtinæ, Baſilio, Julianæ,
Poſteriſque in humanæ fragilitatis memoriam
F. C.

Parentibus, fratribuſque jam olim, uxore vero in ipſo ætatis flore cum filiolis haud ita demum expectandi cenſorii noviſſimique diei ergo collocatis.
Anno MDXLII.

We have but nine editions of his as yet diſcover'd, from 1481 to 1500: the firſt of them is *Vincentii Bellovacenſis opuſcula*, and the laſt *Fr. Petrarchæ opuſcula*, 1496.

5. John Froben, 1491.

John Froben was a native of *Hamelburgh* in *Fraconia*, where he ſtudy'd 'till he became maſter of the *Latin* tongue, and afterwards went to the univerſity of *Baſil*, where he perfected himſelf in *Greek* alſo, and betook himſelf to the buſineſs of Printing, of which he ſhow'd himſelf ſo good a maſter, that *John Amerbach* took him as aſſiſtant and partner in his laborious and expenſive undertaking of publiſhing the ancient fathers, as we hinted before. He acquitted himſelf ſo well both in this province and his own particular one, that he acquir'd as great a reputation and eſteem among the learned, as his contemporary and partner; to whom *Germany* is oblig'd for bringing thither the neat round Roman character, hitherto ſcarcely known there, and improving it to the laſt degree of perfection. No perſon was ever more curious in the choice of the works, which he ſent to the preſs, than he; who had this excellent quality among many others, that he would never print any bad books, ſuch as the ſordid avarice of other Printers had overſtock'd the world with; but always choſe the beſt authors, and beſt manuſcripts of them, ſparing neither

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coſt in purchaſing them, nor pains in correcting and fitting them for the preſs; in which, tho' he was a man of ſingular learning, yet he always preferr'd the advice and judgment of the learned of his time, to his own. Among theſe were *Mark Heyland*, *Eraſmus*, *Wolfgang Muſculus*, *Jo. Œcolampadius*, *Wolfgang*, *Lachner* and others, all perſons of the higheſt rank in the commonwealth of learning; for which reaſons his impreſſions have ever been, and will continue in the higheſt eſteem with all the learned. He was likewiſe particularly ambitious to have his works correct; and the abovemention'd learned men aſſiſted him very much in that province; eſpecially *Œcolampadius*, who tells us [1], that he could not ſufficiently wonder that *Eraſmus*, who alone kept three preſſes continually at work, who read and compar'd the *Greek* and *Latin* manuſcripts, and conſulted the writings of all the ancients and moderns, *&c.* could yet find time enough to correct the proofs of his works; and adds, that his example had not a little encourag'd him to take the laborious taſk of a corrector upon him. However, neither *Froben*'s nor his corrector's diligence could prevent that edition, juſt now quoted in the margin, from having an errata of a page and half, tho' *Eraſmus* gave the finiſhing hand to every proof.

THIS learned author, in one of his letters to *Bilibaldus Parcheimerus*, who was then at the emperor's court, complains highly of a great injuſtice done to many good Printers in general, and to *Froben* particularly, which was, that he had no ſooner publiſh'd a good edition with great coſt and labour, but it was immediately reprinted by others, and ſold ſo much cheaper, that he could never reimburſe himſelf half his charges. This reduc'd him to the neceſſity of obtaining from the emperor, *&c.* a privilege for the ſole ſelling them for the ſpace of two or more years, according to the value of the work; there being no other effectual way of preventing ſuch an abuſe: the letter is dated from *Baſil*, *Jan.* 28. 1522: the

[1] *OEcolampadius* in his epiſtle at the end of *Eraſmus*'s edition of the New Teſtament in *Greek* with a new *Latin* verſion, printed by *Froben*, *ann.* 1516, and dedicated to Pope *Leo* X —— admirabile ſpectaculum mihi erat, imo ſpectandum miraculum, dictantem recognoſcentemque quantum tria præla exciperent, videre, ac nihilo ſecius interim Græca Latinaque exemplaria, eaque varia & vetuſtiſſima, conſulentem, Græcos Latinoſque interpretes conferentem priſcos ac recentiores primæ ſimul ac infimæ claſſis ſcriptores perpendentem —— nimirum *Eraſmicum* imitati exemplum, qui & ipſe hic, cæteris rebus omiſſis bonam temporis partem in hoc collocavit negotium.

reader

reader will find it in *Vita Eraſmi*, *Leyden* edit. 1642 in 16°, *pag.* 226, what relates to our ſubject, he will find in the margin [1].

We have had occaſion to mention ſome cheats of even a worſe nature with reſpect to the *Venetian* editions, which were counterfeited with the Printer's mark, and ſold for the right ones, tho' incorrect and imperfect to the laſt degree.

To return to *Froben*; he is reported to have hang'd his proofs in publick ſight, with a promiſe of a reward for every error, that ſhould be diſcover'd in them by any perſon. In his ſhort preface to *Celius Rhodiginus* printed *ann.* 1517, he inveighs loudly againſt thoſe peſts of learning, thoſe Printers, who regarded not the correction of their works, but had gain only in their view; and adviſes the learned againſt buying ſuch bad books, for the ſake of their cheapneſs, aſſuring them that they purchas'd nothing but plague and vexation, and *that ſuch wretched works could not but be dearly bought, how cheap ſoever they were ſold; whereas he that bought a correct copy, always bought it cheap, how much ſoever he gave for it* [2].

Jo. Froben printed few volumes before the year 1500, and the number of thoſe which are extant, is ſtill ſmaller. One of them was his concordance of the bible in *fol. ann.*. 1495; concerning which we meet with ſome particulars, not unworthy the reader's knowledge, tho' a digreſſion from our ſubject.

First it was ſo exactly printed, that there was not one error in all the numerical figures, which in a work of that nature are at leaſt one third part of the matter; and is therefore very ſurprizing. *Froben* added a ſecond part to it, which contain'd all the indeclinable particles, that are to be mèt with in the bible. This work was begun at *Conſtantinople* by *Jo. de Raguza*, a Pariſian divine of the Dominican order, embaſſador

[1] Plerique inſidiantur Homini, propemodum conjurati ut illum perdant Ubi quid novi operis prodit, quod putent fore vendibile, mox unus atque alter ſuffuratus ex ipſius officina exemplar, excudit ac venditat minimo; interim *Frobenius* immenſam pecuniam impendit in caſtigatores, frequenter & in exemplaria, huic iniquitati facile ſuccurretur, ſi fiat imperatorium edictum, ne quis librum primum a *Frobenio* excuſum, aut cui ſit aliquid ab auctore additum, excudat intra biennium. Tempus longum non eſt officina *Frobeniana* vel ob hoc favore digna eſt quod nihil ex ea prodit ineptum aut ſeditioſum.

[2] —— Parvo emit, quiſquis librum emendatum etiam magno emit; magno emit, quiſquis codicem mendoſum etiam minimo emit. *Ibid.*

from

from the council of *Baden* to the emperor *Jo. Paleologus* about the year 1436; yet he did little to it himſelf, but left it to his three chaplains, one of whom was a *Scotchman* nam'd *Walter Sonaw*, who finiſh'd it in almoſt three years. After this it was reduc'd into an alphabetical order, by the directions of that council, by *John de Segovia* or *Secubia*, archdeacon of *Cujedo*, and doctor of divinity. What gave birth to this ſecond part of the concordance was no leſs remarkable, *John de Raguza* beforemention'd, coming to *Conſtantinople*, found the divines there engag'd in a very warm diſpute concerning the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, *i. e.* whether from the Son as well as from the Father; and that the controverſy ſeem'd chiefly to be about the particles *ex* and *per*, *i. e.* whether it ſhould be *ex filio* or *per filium*. He was likewiſe inform'd, that the *Sultan* and all the *Mahometans* having heard, that *Paleologus* deſign'd a journey into chriſtendom, in order to reconcile this difference between the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, had rally'd the chriſtians with no ſmall ſcorn, whom two ſuch ſeemingly inſignificant particles had divided to ſuch a degree. This embaſſador fail'd not to acquaint the council with it, who immediately order'd *John de Segovia* to be ready to anſwer all the difficulties, which the *Greeks* ſhould propoſe at their arrival at *Baſil*. In the mean time the *Huſſites* and *John Huſs* of *Bohemia*, who were already at *Baſil*, and inſiſted upon a communion in both kinds from the words of our Saviour, *Unleſs you eat*, &c. and *unleſs you drink*, &c. which their oppoſers ſaid ſignify'd no more than, unleſs you eat or drink, from which they concluded that either the one or the other was ſufficient to fulfill the command; theſe I ſay made it ſtill more neceſſary to have a concordance, that ſhould explain the meaning of thoſe particles *ex* and *per*, *niſi* and *et*, and in how many different ſenſes they were us'd in ſcripture. This induc'd *John de Segovia* to write the ſecond part of the concordance relating to indeclinable words, with a prolegomenon or preface, in which he hath given us this account of the occaſion of it. The learned *Sebaſtian Brant*, author of the *Navis ſtultifera*, caus'd it to be printed by *Froben*, *ann.* 1495, and ſomewhat above twenty years after the ſame, *Froben* reprinted it with an elegant *Latin* dialogue between a bookſeller and the buyer, relating to the value of good books, inſtead of a preface to that edition. The reader may ſee it at length in *Chevillier*, p. 130.

FROBEN

FROBEN had two ſons *Jerom* and *John*, who ſucceeded their father, and publiſh'd a great number of volumes with good reputation after his death, which happen'd *ann.* 1527. *Eraſmus* tells us that what he had moſt at heart was to give the world a correct edition of St. *Auſtin*'s works, and that he deſir'd to live no longer than to ſee it finiſh'd [1]. However he was depriv'd of that pleaſure, for *J. And-Endters* tells us tho' he kept ſeven preſſes continually at work upon that edition, yet not above two volumes of it were printed before he died, to the great loſs and grief of all the learned world: the following epitaph, written by his friend *Eraſmus*, was afterwards ſet upon his tomb.

Epitaphium JOANNIS FROBENII.
per Deſiderium Eraſmum Rot.

Arida Joannis *tegit hic lapis oſſa* Frobeni,
Orbe vivet toto neſcia fama mori.
Moribus hanc niveis meruit ſtudiiſque juvandis;
Quæ nunc mæſta jacent orba parente ſuo.
Rettulit, ornavit veterum monumenta ſophorum
Arte, manu, curis, aere, favore, fide.
Huic vitam in cælis date, numina juſta, perennem;
Per nos in terris fama perennis erit.

THIS epitaph was afterwards printed, according to *la Caille*, in *Henry Stephen's Artis Typographicæ Querimonia*; *Eraſmus* wrote another of four verſes in *Greek*, which the Reader may ſee in *Matt. Annal. Typog.* v. 2. p. 36.

ERASMUS was not contented with writing the abovemention'd epitaphs in his late friend's praiſe, but he made likewiſe a kind of funeral oration or rather elogium upon him, in a letter to *John Emſted* a learned *Carthuſian*; the reader may ſee it at full length in the above-mention'd *Annals*, vol. 2. pag. 36, *& ſeq.*

AND indeed it was no more than he ow'd him, ſince *Froben* had long before given him a pleaſure, which few men beſide him had ever taſted, which was to ſee his own elegy before his death; the occaſion of it was

[1] Ut inter familiares ſubinde dicere ſolitus ſit, ſe non optare longius vitæ ſpatium, quam quod abſolvendo ſufficeret Auguſtino. *Eraſm. epiſt. ad Ammonium.* Tom. 3. oper. p. 759.

as follows. Before theſe two were become intimate, *Froben* had heard that *Eraſmus* was dead, and wrote much ſuch another funeral oration upon him, which he prefix'd to an edition of that great man's proverbs, which he publiſh'd *Ann.* 1513: *Eraſmus* could not but be highly pleas'd to ſee himſelf prais'd in ſo extraordinary and ſincere a manner, being well aſſur'd that ſuch encomiums could not proceed from flattery or ſelf intereſt; for *Eraſmus* being ſuppos'd dead, *Froben* could have nothing to hope from him; and had any but a man of *Froben*'s integrity and honour committed ſuch a miſtake, one might be apt to ſuſpect it had been wilfully done, in hopes of procuring ſome valuable pieces from that learned author: but whoever is acquainted with that Printer's character, will undoubtedly believe him incapable of ſuch mean arts. I think therefore it will not be amiſs to cloſe the hiſtory of this great Printer with ſome conſpicuous parts of his character, which we have not yet touch'd upon, and which will eaſily acquit him of any ſuſpicion; which is, that he was a man of the moſt diſintereſted and generous diſpoſition. *Eraſmus* in his letter to *Emſted* abovemention'd does even tell us, that he was ſo to a fault, and that he had often reprov'd him for it, but in vain, for his natural candor was proof againſt all admonitions of that kind: neither did his munificence to men of learning and merit ſhow itſelf only in the largeneſs of his preſents to them, but in the manner of beſtowing them; never, ſays that author, did he ſeem better pleas'd than when he had, either by intreaties or by ſome cunning device, prevail'd upon them to accept of ſome favour from him. The grief he ſhew'd in his countenance at their denial was ſuch, that they found it more difficult to refuſe a favour from him, than to obtain one from another perſon; and when by chance, continues he, I have bought me ſome cloath for a gown, he has privately ſent, and paid for it unknown to me. As his houſe was open to all learned men, ſo none had a heartier welcome than *Eraſmus*, who us'd it as his home all the time he continued at *Baſil*, and it is probable that he might have continued longer there, had he not obſerv'd ſomething in his family, which he could not forbear grieving at. *Froben* was under petticoat-government, which made his affairs go ſomewhat wrong, wherefore he expreſſes himſelf thus to him in a letter dated from *Louvain*; *Fama tibi parta eſt, ea poterit tibi magno emolumento eſſe,*

eſſe, ſi curam de tuo adhibueris; ſed mihi non placet domi tuæ regnum iſtud Muliebre, &c. But *Froben* was of too eaſy and patient a temper, to give himſelf any trouble about it: we have a remarkable inſtance of this in the laſt year of his life, when being ſeiz'd with ſuch a violent pain in his right heel, that ſome phyſicians were for cutting off his foot, he had no ſooner receiv'd ſome eaſement in it, than he went on horſeback to *Frankfort* about ſome buſineſs; and tho' advis'd by his friends to ſtir ſeldomer abroad, to go warmer in cloaths, and to ſpare himſelf as much as poſſible, he refus'd to hearken to them, and took ſuch care to conceal his bad ſtate of health, and the anguiſh of his pain, that he went ſtill about his buſineſs; 'till being ſeiz'd with a fainting fit, he dropt down and broke his ſkull againſt the pavement; after which he continued two days, without any ſenſe or motion, and expir'd *ann.* 1528. I hope the name and character of the perſon will excuſe my account of theſe particularities, eſpecially ſince the great *Eraſmus* has thought them worth recording in a much ampler manner: he left two ſons *Jerom* and *John*, who became excellent Printers, and ſignaliz'd themſelves by their editions of the *Greek* and *Latin* fathers; he had likewiſe ſome daughters, one of whom nam'd *Juſtina* he marry'd to *Nicolas l'Eveſque* or *Epiſcopius*, an eminent Printer of *Baſil.*

His uſual mark or rebus was a dove ſitting on the top of a ſtaff, with two baſiliſks twin'd about it, to which he ſometimes added the initial letters of both his names IO. FRO. and ſometimes the fourth verſe of the 125th pſalm in *Hebrew*, the ſixteenth verſe of St. *Matthew*'s 10th chapter in *Greek*, and theſe words in *Latin*, *Prudens Simplicitas Amorque recti*, in three diſtinct lines. All the works we have extant of his from 1491 to 1500 are only four, *viz.* a *Latin* bible, 8vo, in a ſmall character dated 1491. Another in the old *Gothic*, 8vo, 1495; his concordance of the bible mention'd before, *fol. anno* 1495; and the *Speculum decem Præceptorum* of *Henry Harp.*

I can find but one more Printer after him, *viz.*

John Bergman *de* Olpe, 1497.

Of whom we have only two editions of *Sebaſtian Brant*'s *Navis ſtultifera*, dated 1497 and 1498. the laſt of which is adorn'd with wooden cutts.

BESIDES theſe F. *Orlandi* has given us a liſt of above 60 *Baſil* editions without Printers names.

Article II. *The Cities of* Eſling, Placentia *and* Pignerol.

THESE three cities being inconſiderable with reſpect to their Productions in the Art of Printing, except the earlineſs of their receiving it, I have joyn'd them into one ſhort article.

§. ESLING is a ſmall city in the duchy of *Wirtembergh* in *Germany*. It receiv'd Printing either about or before the year 1475; tho' we can meet but with the two following editions printed there by

CONRARD FYNER, 1475. *viz.*

1. PETRI Nigri Germani *ord. præd. qui claruit anno* 1475, *tractatus de Judæorum perfidia, per* Conradum Fyner Eſlingæ } 1475.

2. EJUSDEM *tractatus de conditionibus veri Meſſiæ contra Judæos, Germanicé*, by the ſame, *ibid.* Orl. } 1477.

§. PLACENTIA a noble antient city upon the river *Po* in *Italy*, in which we find only one edition printed by

JO. PETER *de Ferratis* of *Cremona*, 1475. *viz.*

BIBLIA *Latina*, 4*to*, *per* Jo. Petri *de* Ferratis Cremonenſem Placentiæ, 1475.

§. PIGNEROL [in *Latin Pignarolium*] is a well fortify'd city in *Piedmont*, at the foot of the *Alps*, under the dominion of the preſent king of *Sardinia*. Here the famous *French* Printer

JAMES *des* ROUGES or *de* RUBEIS,

Set up his Preſs, after he had printed at *Venice* from 1473 to 1477 with vaſt applauſe. The firſt book, which we find printed by him, is a *Latin* bible dated 1475; in which all our annaliſts have follow'd father *le Long*: but it is doubtful whether he was not miſtaken in the year, ſeeing

ſeeing *des Rouges* was ſtill printing at *Venice*, *anno* 1477, and that we find no more impreſſions of his done at *Pignerol*, 'till *anno* 1479.

HOWEVER as it is not eaſy to determine whether father *le Long* was in an error, or the bible antedated, or whether this Printer kept two Preſſes at the ſame time, one at *Venice*, and another at *Pignerol*; I have follow'd the order of the annaliſts, and ventur'd to place this edition and city under that year.

WE have but four editions of his printed at *Pignerol*, that of the bible of 1475 included, two of which are dated 1479, and the laſt 1480.

Article III. *The City of* VINCENTIA, 1475.

VINCENTIA is a large ancient city and univerſity in *Italy*, now under the republick of *Venice*, which receiv'd the Art of Printing *anno* 1475, and oblig'd the world with a greater number of editions than many cities of *Italy*, and other parts of *Europe*, which we have ſeen hitherto.

1. HERMAN LEVILAPIS *or* LICHTENSTEIN, 1475.

WAS one of the firſt that brought it hither. He was a native of *Cologn*, and a very good, but unſettled Printer. We have already ſeen him at *Venice* and *Treviſo*. At *Vincentia* he printed ſome editions in partnerſhip with *Nicholas Petri* of *Harlem*, alias *Peter de Harlem*.

WE have twelve of them extant, in ſome of which he calls himſelf *Herman Levilapis*, in others *de Levilapide* or *Lichtenſtein*, in others *Herman Lichtenſtein de Colonia*; one remarkable edition of his, *viz.*

PAULI Oroſii Hiſpani *hiſtoriarum libri* vii *ad* Aurelium Auguſtinum *de maximis calamitatibus ab orbe condito uſque ad ſua tempora*, *fol.* is without date, Printers or place's name.

THIS edition was corrected by *Æneas Vulpes*, and printed at *Vincentia* by *Herman Lichtenſtein*, as appears by the epigram quoted in the margin [1];

[1] Ut ipſe titulus margine in primo docet,
Oroſio nomen mihi eſt.
Librariorum quicquid erroris fuit,
Exemit *Æneas* mihi:
Meque imprimendum tradidit non alteri,
Hermanne, quam ſoli tibi;
Hermanne, nomen hujus artis & decus,
Tuæque laus *Coloniæ*
Quod ſi ſitum orbis, ſicque ad noſtra tempora
Ab orbis ipſâ origine;
Quiſque tumultus, bellaque & cædes velit,
Cladeſque noſſe: me legat.

after

after which it was reprinted in the ſame place, but in a larger character, by *Leonard de Baſilea* with the ſame verſes, except changing the word *Herman* for that of *Leonard*, and *Colonia* for *Baſilea*. It was reprinted likewiſe in ſeveral other places, only the 5, 6, 7 and 8th verſes were omitted.

2. JOHN RHENISH or *John de Reno*, five editions from 1475 to 1481.
3. JOHN *de Vienna*, 1 edit. 1476.
4. STEPHEN KOBLINGER, 1 edit. 1479.
5. HENRY, bookſeller of *Vincentia*, 3 edit. from 1480 to 1486.
6. LEONARD *de Baſilea* or of *Baſil*, Printer to the univerſity of *Vincentia*, 5 edit. from 1482 to 1491.
7. JAMES DUSENSIS, 1 edit. 1482.
8. HENRY *de S Urſo*, 5 edit. from 1486 to 1499.
9. SIMON BEVILAQUA [*Drink water*] citizen of *Pavia*, 2 edit. both 1489.

HE went afterwards to *Venice*, where he printed a much greater number of editions, from 1492 to 1500, as has been ſaid under that head.

HERE are likewiſe a ſmall number without Printer's names.

Article IV. *The Cities of* LUBECK *and* VALENTIA.

§. THE city of *Lubeck* is one of the Hans-towns in *Germany*, between the provinces of *Saxony* and *Alſatia* upon the *Baltick* ſea. It is very eminent for its trade, port, fortifications, riches, and number of inhabitants.

HITHER the Art of Printing was brought *anno* 1475, yet appears to have met with but little encouragement from its trading inhabitants, for we find only four Printers in this city from 1471 to 1502, and they were ſo far from ſettling here any time, that their bad ſucceſs had oblig'd them to quit the place, for we have but five editions extant of them all; their names are as follows.

1. LUCAS BRANDIS *de Schafz*, 2 edit. from 1475 to 1477.
2. STEPHEN ARNOLD, 1 edit. 1484.
3. STEPHEN ARNDES, 1 edit. 1493.
4. BARTHOL. GOTHAN, 1 edit. 1494.

I SHALL

I SHALL only add that the firſt work of *Lucas Brandis*, viz. *Epitoma Hiſtoriarum* has the pompous *Latin* inſcription, which you will find in the margin [1], and which has led ſome authors into an abſurd notion that the Art of Printing was found out at *Lubeck*.

§. VALENTIA, 1475.

THERE are ſo many cities and towns of this name in *France*, *Italy* and *Spain*, that it cannot poſſibly be determin'd in which of them the two following books, which are all that we find under that name, have been printed; there being nothing in the titles or any other part to aſcertain it, and even the Printer's names are wanting.

1. SALUSTIUS, 4to. *Valentiæ*, 1475.

2. XIMENIUS (Franciſcus) *de vita Chriſtiana in* vi *partes diſtincta*, ibid, 1484.

Article V. ROSTOCH *and* BRUGES, 1475; *and* DELPH, 1477.

§. ROSTOCH is an imperial free city in *Germany*, upon the *Baltick* ſea. Here was founded an univerſity about the year 1490, fourteen years before which, we meet with the following book, the only one as yet known, printed there by ſome regular prieſts, as the colophon informs us.

LACTANTII FIRMIANI *de divinis inſtitutionibus*, fol. *per fratres preſbyteros & clericos congregationis Domus viridis horti ad ſanctum* Michaelem *in oppido* Roſtochienſi *partium inferioris* Sclaviæ, *prout facultas & induſtria tulit, emendate ſatis & accurate conſummat.* milleſimo quadringenteſimo ſeptuageſimo ſexto, quinto Idus *Aprilis: Roſtochii*, 1476.

§. BRUGES in *Flanders* had a Printer ſettled there *anno* 1476, nam'd

[1] ——— Imperiali in urbe *Lubecana*, arte impreſſoria, ſpeciali gratia divina, animarum ob ſalutem fidelium inventa, epitoma iſtud in partes vi. juxta mundi ætates diviſum, prius alibi non repertum, quod placuit Rudimentum Novitiorum intitulari, dei adjutorio, qui ſupernas res ac ſubterraneas feliciter, ſuaviter, tranquilleque diſpenſat, per magiſtrum *Lucam Brandis* de *Schafz* feliciter eſt excuſum atque finitum; ut pauperes ſolvere libros non valentes, unum tantum haberent hoc enchiridium loco multorum ſemper ad manum librorum.

1. Colard Mansion,

Of whom we have three editions from 1476 to 1486.

Orlandi gives us another Printer of this city, *viz. John de Rey*, who printed *Centon Epiſtolas dell' Bachiller*, 4to, 1499. Mr *Maittaire* and *la Caille* date this edition from *Burgos* in *Spain*, and they ſeem to be in the right, becauſe the book is written in *Spaniſh*, and the Printer's name ſhews him to be of that nation.

§. Delph is a fine city in *Holland*, near the *Hague* and *Rotterdam*. We meet with ſeven editions printed there, all without any Printer's name; the firſt of which, *viz.* the *Dutch* bible is dated *anno* 1477. The reſt are dated as follows; two 1480, two 1487, one 1491, the laſt 1497.

CHAP. XI.

The Cities of 1. Spire, 2. Lyons, *anno* 1477. 3. Geneva, Bruſſels, Coſcence *and* Pavia, *anno* 1478. 4. Goude, Zivol, *anno* 1479; *and* Caen, Ceulen, Cenzano *and* Quilemburgh, *anno* 1480. 5. Lignitz, Huſſelet, Regio Mont-royal *and* Wartzburgh, *anno* 1481. 6. Piſa, Aquila, Erford *and* Langres, *anno* 1482: *And* 7. Gaunt *and* Memining, *anno* 1483.

Article I. *The City of* SPIRE, 1477.

SPIRE is an ancient city in higher *Germany*, ſituate upon the *Rhine*, between *Mentz* and *Strasburgh*. It is now call'd in *Latin Spira*, but formerly was call'd *Novimagium* and *Nemetes*.

Tho' this city doth not ſeem to have cultivated the Art of Printing within her walls, ſo much as other cities of *Germany*, yet it ought to be remembred for having given birth to ſome eminent Printers, who went

and

and ſettled in other parts of *Europe*, and in particular the two famous brothers, who firſt ſet up their preſſes at *Venice*, viz. *John* and *Windelin* of *Spire*, of whom we have given an account in the third chapter of this ſecond part. Here we find the firſt beginnings of the Art about the year 1477, when

1. PETER DRACH *of* SPIRE.

PRINTED the *Summa* of *Archiep. Antoninus*, which is the firſt book we know of printed by him; as he is likewiſe the only Printer, who put his name to any impreſſions done in this city. His editions are but four in number, from 1477 to 1487; beſides which we find about ten more printed here without the names of the Printers.

IT will not be improper to obſerve here, that our lateſt annaliſts place the city of *Weſtminſter* under this year; the oldeſt edition as yet diſcover'd by them being *Socrates*'s *Sayings* printed by *Caxton*, *anno* 1477; however the reader will find by the third book of this hiſtory, that there is a more ancient one by three years, *viz. The Game of Cheſs*, which is dated *anno* 1474, now in the poſſeſſion of my worthy friend the curious Mr *Granger* of the *Eaſt-India Houſe:* and it is plain from the account of the Art's being brought into *England*, that they began to print in the abbey of *Weſtminſter* much ſooner than that year.

Article II. *The City of* LYONS.

LYONS, a rich and populous city in *France*, upon the rivers *Rhone* and *Arare*, is call'd in *Latin*, *Lugdunum*, and is allow'd to be one of the moſt ancient cities in *Europe*; ſo that ſome *French* writers have not ſcrupled to fix the date of its foundation within 600 or 700 years after the flood, which may more eaſily be believ'd than diſprov'd. It has been always eminent for men of learning in all arts and ſciences, which were particularly cultivated there, but more eſpecially after the Art of Printing was introduc'd; which receiv'd ſuch encouragement there, that it has continu'd in a flouriſhing condition ever ſince. Some annaliſts have aſſerted that it is the firſt city in *France* which ſet up a Printing-preſs; but if we would judge of this controverſy by the dates of the oldeſt im-

preſſions, we ſhall find that the city of *Tours*, and next that of *Paris* had the Art ſeveral years before, as hath been already ſhewn. However, if *Lyons* hath not the preference of *Rome*, *Paris*, *Venice*, &c. either for the antiquity or beauty of its productions; it muſt be acknowledg'd that it hath gain'd it by the quantity of large impreſſions, than which no city in *Europe* has furniſh'd the learned with a greater number. It is ſtill a great *emporium* or market for books in all languages and ſciences; and as it hath encourag'd ſome of the beſt artiſts to ſettle there, and publiſh beautiful and correct editions, ſo it has induc'd many a wretched one to chuſe it as a proper place to print and vend a much greater quantity of bad and counterfeit ones; but this hath happen'd in moſt famous cities of *Europe*. *Lyons* hath likewiſe been celebrated, if not for introducing, at leaſt for encouraging, the *Gothick* character, and publiſh'd more volumes of that ſort, in proportion to thoſe that were done in fine Roman, than any other city; and what is more remarkable of the Printers of this city, they were vaſtly more fond of that inelegant character than of the Roman, eſpecially for bibles, divinity, law and phyſick books.

THE reader will be juſtly ſurpriz'd to hear what encomiums they gave it, and how proud they were of their performances in that kind. I have ſubjoin'd in the margin three or four ſcraps of their colophons, to ſhew what a piece of merit the Printers of the 15th and above half of the 16th century made of their works printed in this character, not only at *Lyons*, but likewiſe at *Venice*, *Paris*, *Rome*, &c. [1] *John de Cologne* at *Venice* us'd to phraſe it thus, *Done in ſublimely fine characters*, &c. another [2] values himſelf upon the beauty and excellence of his character; a third [3] calls it the moſt elegant character; and a fourth [4] the moſt polite of all characters: ſo that if a perſon did not ſee what Types they meant, he would be apt to judge it any other than the *Gothick*. The famous *Badius*, ſirnam'd *Aſcenſius*, who had printed in this city of *Lyons* from 1495 to 1500, is reported to have gone afterwards to *Paris*, with a deſign to ſtop, as

[1] Sublimi literarum effigie, *&c.*

[2] Charactere jucundiſſimo M. Joan: Herbort Alemani, cujus vis et ingenium facile fupereminet omnes.

[3] Opus pulchro literarum charactere politiſſimum, *&c.*

[4] Certante minio purpuræ rubedine,
Superante cervas nigredine ſepiâ —
politioribus characterum typis, *&c.*

much

much as poſſible, the current vogue of this old Gothick; but in vain, for he was oblig'd to continue it himſelf till almoſt the very later end of his days; and beſides it ſtill remain'd in great uſe long after that, inſomuch that *Atenſis* complains [1] that Printers were extremely curious, and ſpar'd no coſt to give elegant impreſſions of the heathen poets, orators, *&c.* whereas any batter'd old Gothick Types were thought good enough for thoſe of Divinity. In the cloſe of this ſecond book we ſhall mention ſome of the Printers, to whom the world is oblig'd for the total diſuſe of that inelegant character. To return to *Lyons*; the firſt Printer we find there, is,

1. BARTHOLOMEW BUYER, 1477.

Of whom we have only the two following impreſſions: the firſt, viz. the new Teſtament in French is without date, and has been ſuppos'd by *de la Caille*, to have been printed about 1500. but *F. Le Long* more juſtly ſuppoſes it, both by the rudeneſs of the character, and its likeneſs to that of the next edition of *Buyer*, which is dated 1477 to have been printed about this time.

2. MARTIN HUSZ and
3. JOS. FABER } two edit. from 1478, to 1485.
4. PERRINE LATHOMI, 1 edit. 1479.

He printed likewiſe at *Venice* with ſome others, about 1494.

5. WILLIAM *le* ROY, 2 edit. from 1483, to 1488.
6. JANON CARCAIGNI, 2 edit. from 1488, to 1495.
7. MICHELET TOPIE *de Piemont* and
8. JAMES HEREMBERCLE, *alias* HEREMBERCH, *German*, } 2 edit. from 1488. to 1490.
9. JOHN CLEIN, *German*, 1 edit. 1489.
10. MATTHIAS HUSM, *German*, 1 edit. 1489.
11. JOHN DU PRE, 2 edit. from 1489, to 1493.

He printed likewiſe at *Paris* and *Abbeville*.

12. PETER MARESHAL, 1 edit. 1490.
13. JOHN DE LA FONTAINE of *Lyons*, 1 edit. 1490.
14. JOHN TRECHSEL *German*, 8 edit. from 1490 to 1497.

[1] Lynceis utuntur oculis & Herculeo labore, ſi quando ethnicorum aliquis aut nugax poeta, aut verboſus orator eſt imprimendus; ſacris quoſvis typos quamvis tritos & confuſaneos adhibent. Præfat. ad Gregor.

Whoſe corrector was the famous *Jodocus Badius*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter; ſome of whoſe learned works, comments and annotations he printed *anno* 1492 *& ſeq.* as *Silvæ Morales, cum interpretatione* Badii *ex* Virgil. Horat. Perſ. Juvenal. Ennio, Bapt. Mantuan. Sulpit. Caton. with ſome others which we ſhall ſpeak of anon. I muſt not omit mentioning, that all *Trechſel's* works are highly valuable and correct.

15. ENGOLHARD SCHULTIS, *German*, 1 edit. 1491.
16. MATTHIAS HUTS, 1 edit. 1491.
17. ANT. LABILLON and
18. MARTIN SARACENI, } 2 edit. both 1491.

19. JODOCUS BADIUS, *ſirnam'd* ASCENSIUS, 1495.

Badius was born in the caſtle of *Aſe*, in the territories of *Bruſſels*, and call'd *Aſcenſius* from it. He ſpent his younger years in ſtudy at *Bruſſels*, *Gaunt*, and laſt of all in the univerſity of *Ferrara*, under the great *Bapt. Guarini*, where he became maſter of the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and very famous for his learning and parts. He remov'd afterwards to the city of *Lyons*, where he publickly taught thoſe two languages, and became corrector to *Jo. Trechſel's* preſs, as has been ſaid before. He publiſh'd ſeveral works, ſome of which were his own, as *Silvæ morales contra vitia.* fol. 1492. *Epigrammatum* lib. 1. *Navicula Stultarum mulierum*; the Life of *Thomas a Kempis* prefix'd to his works, and ſome others. Several excellent commentaries were likewiſe written by him upon the greateſt part of the claſſicks, and other *Latin* authors, as *Horace*, *Juvenal*, *Martial*, *Lucretius*, *Seneca*, *Saluſt*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Quintilian*, *Aulus Gellius*, and others; all which he printed himſelf in *folio* very elegantly and correctly, tho' ſome of the firſt he caus'd to be printed by *John Trechſel*, whoſe daughter he afterwards married and had many children by her. To all his editions, which were not a few, he us'd to prefix an epiſtle dedicatory, addreſs'd to ſome perſon, eminent either for his quality, piety or learning. Among others, he dedicated the firſt Volume of *Tho. Waldenſis* works to pope *Clement* VII. After he had taken the buſineſs of printing upon him; he became ſo excellent a Printer, that the learned *Rob. Gaguin*, general of the Trinitarian Order, who

who was perfectly well acquainted with his merit, wrote a letter to him, to desire him to undertake the printing of his works. This with some other invitations of the learned, brought *Badius* to *Paris* about 1499, presently after his father-in-law's death, where he design'd to teach the *Greek* tongue, and where his last endeavour, after he had furnish'd himself with fine sets of Roman characters, was to explode the old Gothick both in his works, and by his example, as we hinted before. And accordingly printed the *Philobiblion* of that great encourager of learning, *Richard Bury*, lord high chancellor of *England*, bishop of *Durham*, and founder of the *Oxford* library, towards the middle of the 14th century; which book was sent to him by Dr. *Bureau*, bishop of *Cisteron*, and confessor to the *French* king, in order to be printed by him. This was the first book known that came to the press after he set it up at *Paris*; 'tis dated 1500; the next year he printed the *Provinciale, seu constitutiones Angliæ, cum Annotationibus Gullielmi Lindewode* 1501, in a vol. fol. in a beautiful round Roman. This book, as *de la Caille* tells us, is very scarce, and much sought for, being very necessary for those who would understand the old *French* us'd in *William* the conqueror's time, tho' I doubt he is mistaken, the work itself being in *Latin*. He began to print by himself about the year 1495, at which time the great *Aldus Manutius* began at *Venice*; than whom neither that age nor the next produc'd two more learned or excellent Printers.

As this later was chiefly engag'd in printing and correcting of *Greek* authors, so *Badius* was employ'd in the *Latin* ones; and there seem'd a kind of friendly emulation between them, each carrying away the palm in a separate province. Upon account of this merit the editor of *Guil. de Rubione* in his dedication to the earl of *Castille* calls *Ascensius* a person skill'd in all kinds of science, and the prince of printers [1]; and *Trithemius* ranks him among the *Scriptores Ecclesiastici*, when he was but two and thirty years of age, and gives him the following panegyrick, *viz.* that he was a perfect master of literature, not unskilful in the holy scriptures, a good philosopher, orator and poet, a man of a bright genius and a fluent tongue, [2] *&c.* *Erasmus* likewise gives him a great enco-

[1] Omnigenere disciplinarum eruditissimo *Ascensio*, impressoriæ artis primati.

[2] Vir in secularibus literis eruditissimus, & divinarum scripturarum non ignarus, philosophus, rhetor, & poeta clarissimus, ingenio excellens & disertus eloquio.

mium

mium in his dialogue intitled *Ciceronianus*; prefers his ſtile to that of *Apuleius*, and highly applaudes his admirable facility of writing. I ſhall give the *Latin* reader a ſpecimen of his poetry in the margin, which is a tetraſtich inſcrib'd to the learned *Fath. Mark Benevent*, to whom the edition of *Holkoth* upon the ſentences, printed by *J. Treſchel* anno 1497, is dedicated, and of which himſelf was the corrector; in which verſes he deſires him in a moſt elegant manner to excuſe the faults ſtill remaining in it [1]. He was no leſs skillful in reſtoring of corrupt manuſcripts, than careful in printing of them with the greateſt accuracy; ſo that ſome of his *Errata*'s have contain'd but five words. In printing the work of any living author, he always follow'd the copy exactly; and he tells us in his preface to his edition of *Angelus Politianus* [2], that he endeavour'd to imitate the laudable diligence of *Aldus Manutius*, and to print from his copies with the utmoſt exactneſs. This made not only the learned very ambitious to have their works printed by him, but the moſt eminent bookſellers of *Paris* were glad, in order to have him for their Printer, to aſſociate themſelves with him; among whom, *John Petit* ſworn bookſeller to that univerſity, and one of the moſt famous of that age, caus'd ſeveral noble editions to be printed by him as the *Calepini Dictionarium octo Linguar.* 1516. *Origen. Opera Latinè* 4 vol. fol. 1519, ſome of which beautifully printed on vellum, are ſtill to be ſeen in ſeveral libraries of that city, with many others: He had other aſſociates beſides *Petit*, viz. *Andreas Bochard*, *Dionys Roce*, *Geofrey Marneff*, and many others, all eminent men in their way. Thus he continued printing and writing with great applauſe and reputation till the year 1534, in which he died. Some authors indeed have affirm'd that he died *anno* 1526, becauſe they knew of no works printed by him after that year. *Chevillier* gives us two particulars, which fix the year of his death beyond diſpute. The firſt is the laſt book printed in his name, viz. *Alphonſus a Caſtro contra Hæreſes.* fol. 1534. and *Peter Lombard in Epiſtolas Pauli.* fol. ann. 1535. *pro hæredibus Jodoci Badii, menſe decembri*, both which editi-

[1] Jam portum optatum per inhoſpita ſaxa ſecuti
Prendimus, ex alto proſpiciente deo.
Siqua tamen laceræ portent inculta carinæ,
Humanè ignoſces, Marce diſerte, Vale.

[2] Curavimus —— ut quam minimum ejus ſcripta quaſi degenerent ab origine, imitantes ſanè non tacendi, imo ſemper laudandi, hominis Aldi M. R. diligentiam.

ons

ons he ſaw in the *Sorbon* library. He us'd to put the following *Latin* verſe to the firſt page of his impreſſions;

Ære meret Badius laude auctorem, arte legentem.

Sometimes this,

Æra meret Badio terſa atque impreſſa per ipſum.

Or thus,

Æra meret Badio, nomenque decuſque parenti.

Some Impreſſions have only. *Æra meret Badio.*

His mark was the draught of a printing-houſe with the words *Prælum Aſcenſianum* upon the head of the preſs, the glory and credit of which dy'd not with him, but continued above 35 years in his own family; for *Badius*, whoſe love to learning, and in particular to the Art of Printing, was conſpicuous thro' his whole life, prevail'd upon himſelf to breed up his only ſon *Conrard Badius* to the buſineſs of Printing, after he had perfected him in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and in ſeveral other branches of literature. *Conrard* became ſo famous upon all theſe accounts, that the learned *Henry Stephens* has thought fit to tranſmit to us an elegant *Latin* epitaph made upon him, which the reader may ſee in *de la Caille* p. 131. *Badius* had likewiſe a brother nam'd *John*, who became an eminent printer, and left a conſiderable number of good editions behind him; and as if this had not been enough to have three out of his family brought up to the Art of Printing, he marry'd his three daughters to three of the moſt eminent printers in *Paris*, *Robert Stephens*, *Michael Vaſcoſan*, and *John de Roigny*. The two former of theſe are too celebrated to need a panegyrick here; and the laſt took his father-in-law's mark, ſucceeded him in his printing-houſe with great reputation, and ſignaliz'd himſelf by the elegancy and correctneſs of a great number of editions, which came from his preſſes; he left a ſon nam'd *Michael*, who did not prove much inferior to his father or grandfather.

We find two epitaphs on this great man, the one in *Henry Stephen's* book, *De artis typographicæ querimoniâ*, anno 1569; which is as follows;

Jodoci

Jodoci Badii Epitaphium.

Hic liberorum plurimorum qui parens,
Parens librorum plurimorum qui fuit,
Situs Jodocus Badius *eſt* Aſcenſius.
Plures fuerunt liberis tamen libri,
Quod jam ſeneſcens cœpit illos gignere,
Ætate florens cœpit hos quod edere.

His other epitaph is to be ſeen upon his tomb in St. *Benet*'s church at *Paris*, where he lies buried. It is as follows;

On this ſide is the picture of *Badius*. D. O. M. B. Q. V. M. S. And on this ſide his wife, *Trechſel*.

Viator, artes qui bonas piaſque amas,
Siſte hic. Quieſcunt ſubter illuſtres viri
Qui litteris junxere virtutem arduam.
Jacet Jodocus *hîc* Badius Aſcenſius,
Candore notus ſcriptor & ſcientiâ.
Gener Jodoci Vaſcoſanus *prope ſitus eſt,*
Doctiſſimorum tot parens voluminum,
Socer Morelli, *regis olim interpretis;*
Muſarum alumni quæ gemunt hic conditum,
Fœduſque Federici *ademptum ſibi dolent.*
Tres cyppus unus hic tegit cum uxoribus
Lectiſſimis et liberorum liberis.
Hos Chriſtus *olim dormientes ſuſcitet,*
Ad concinendum Trinitati almæ melos.

I. X. Θ. Y. C.

FEDERICUS Morellus Pariſ. *profeſſor & interpres regius* Federici Morelli *nobilis, genere Campani, regii quoque interpretis*; Michael Vaſcoſani *ſcutiferi Ambiani nepos*, Jodoci Badii *illuſtris Belgæ pronepos, marmoreum hunc epitaphium patris, avi, proavi piæ memoriæ, ære ſuo poſuit; ejuſdem, cum Deus vocans volet, tumuli compos fieri optans,* ἐν Θεῷ ἐλπὶς anno ſalutis 1603.

Qui

Qui idem Morellus unus erat è Duumviris togatis hujus aedis ſacræ D. Benedicti παροικιας γαζοφυλακεὶω præfectus.

BADIUS liv'd at the ſign of the three wolves in St. *James*'s *ſtreet*, and his houſe was ſo much frequented by learned men of all nations, who for converſation's ſake, were forc'd to uſe the *Latin* tongue, that his daughters had obtain'd ſuch knowledge of it, that no converſation paſs'd in that language but they underſtood it; the ſame has been affirm'd of ſome of his domeſticks. He was one of the ſworn Printers of the univerſity of *Paris*, as appears by the inſcriptions to his epiſtles didicatory (1), as well as by the order which he receiv'd from the rector of it (by virtue of his oath of obedience and fidelity to it) to print the cenſure made by that body againſt *Luther*'s doctrines.

BEFORE I conclude this article of that noble Printer, it will be neceſſary to give the reader a caution, which he gives us in the title of his *Calepin* corrected, augmented, and printed by him in 1516, that ſome vile Printers had put his name to ſeveral editions never publiſh'd by him; for which reaſon he deſires the reader to ſee that his mark be to them, leaſt they be deceiv'd by thoſe impoſtors. It ſeems theſe plagiaries were more modeſt than ſome *Italians* and others, who ſcrupled not to counterfeit both the name and mark of his contemporary *Aldus*.

THO' we have but one impreſſion of his extant done at *Lyons*, which city he left about the cloſe of the century, to which we have confin'd the liſts of impreſſions; yet I hope the reader will excuſe our tranſgreſſing thoſe limits in the account of his life and excellent character, as we have done in that of other eminent Printers, who have out-liv'd that epocha any conſiderable time. The edition ſpoken of is as follows;

GULIELMI OCKAM opera, fol. *per Jodoc. Badium Aſcenſium Lugdun.* 1495.

AS *Badius* is the laſt conſiderable Printer that made his entrance into the province of printing within this century, and of all the other cities and places which have receiv'd that art before the cloſe of it, a ſmall number excepted; we ſhall abridge the remainder of this hiſtory, and content our ſelves with giving our readers only their names, and

1 Ex officinâ noſtrâ literariâ in Academiâ pariſienſi, *&c.*
Accuratione Aſcenſii in nobiliſſimo Pariſiorum Gymnaſio.
Ex Ædibus noſtris in Pariſiorum Academiâ, &c.

number of their works, that we may have the more room to open the ſcene of the laſt promis'd twenty years, *viz.* from 1500 to 1520, in the two laſt chapters of this II. Book.

THE reſt of the Printers of the city of *Lyons* are as follow;

20. JOHN *de Wingle* of *Picardy*, 5 edit. from 1496 to 1499.
21. CLAUDIUS GIBOLET, 1 edit. 1498.
22. NICHOLAS WOLF, 2 edit. from 1498, to 1499.
23. JOHN DYAMANTIER, 1 edit. 1500.
24. JOHN BACHELIER, 1 edit. 1500.
25. GASPARD ORT, and
26. PETER SCHENCK, } 1 edit. 1500.
27. CLAUDIUS *de Huſchia*, a *Latin* bible with cuts without date, with above twenty more without Printers names.

Article III. *The Cities of* GENEVA, BRUSSELS, COSCENCE *and* PAVIA, 1478.

I SHALL not trouble the reader with a needleſs deſcription of thoſe cities, their productions in the Art of Printing being ſo inconſiderable, as barely to deſerve a place here, eſpecially the three firſt.

§. 1. GENEVA produc'd four editions, from 1478 to 1498, without printers names.

§. 2. BRUSSELS, two edit. from 1478, to 1480, without printers names.

§. 3. COSCENSA, two editions, the firſt by *Octavian Salamonio de Manifredonia*, 1478, the other without the printer's name, of the ſame date as the former.

§. 4. PAVIA, in *Latin Papia*, a noble city and univerſity of *Lombardy*, receiv'd the Art of Printing about the ſame time with the three foregoing, according to the date of her firſt known edition, and her productions were ſomewhat more conſiderable than theirs. Her firſt Printer was,

FRANCIS *de S. Petro*, of whom we have but one edition, dated 1478.
2. ANTONY *de Carcano*, 3 edit. 2 dated 1478, the laſt 1494.
3. ANDREAS BONETI, 1 edit. 1486.
4. CHRISTOPHER *de Canibus*, 1 edit. 1488.

5. JOHN

5. JOHN ANTONY BIRRETTI
6. FRANCIS *de Gyrardengo* } 3 edit. all 1489.
7. GABRIEL *de Craſſi*, 1 edit. 1490.
8. BERNARD
9. AMBROSE } *de Rovelli*, brothers, 1 edit. 1493.
10. LEONARD GEROTA, 1 edit. 1497.

WITH about 10 more without Printers names.

Article IV. GOUDE *and* ZWOL, 1479. CAEN, CEULEN, CENZANO *and* QUILEMBOURG, 1480.

§. 1. GOUDE in *Holland*, between *Hague* and *Utrecht*, where *Gerard de Leen*, or *de Lene*, printed from *anno* 1479 to 1480, after which he remov'd to *Antwerp*, and printed there till 1491, as ſhall be ſhewn in its place. We have but ſix editions of his printed at *Goude*, the firſt is a dutch bible, fol. 1479, the laſt is dated 1484.

§. 2. ZWOL, a City in *Lower Germany*, between the rivers *Iſel* and *Vider*. We find 5 editions printed here from 1479 to 1499, all without printers names.

§. 3. CAEN, in *Latin Cadomum*, an epiſcopal city and univerſity, and the capital of *Normandy*, had two ſworn bookſellers, *viz. Peter Regnault*, and *Richard Mace*; but whether many Printers, or whether they had their books from ſome other place, we find but two editions printed here, *viz. Horatii Epiſtolæ*, 1480, and *Alberti Magni Compend. Theologic. Veritat.* 1500.

§. 4. CEULEN. Our annaliſts are at a loſs where to find this place, I imagine it to be the city of *Cologn*, which the Printer might not know how to ſpell right, neither do the Germans write it much unlike it. We find but one impreſſion in *Low Dutch*, it is call'd *Spiegel der Saſſen met de Gloſſen daarop*, fol. 1480.

§. 5. QUILEMBOURG, in *Holland*, where the ſame *Dutch* edition was printed in the ſame year, and no other as I can find.

§. 6. GENZANO, *Corn. Beughen* in his *Incunab. Typogr.* mentions an edition of *Joannes Annius de futuris triumphis contra Saracenos*, fol. and dates it from *Gentiæ*, 1480; *de la Caille* mentions the ſame edition of the ſame year, and dates it from *Genzano*. Father *Orlandi* is not ſure that *Gentiæ* and *Genzano* are the ſame place, but if it is, he tells us, that it

is a place in the *Roman* territories, more famous for an excellent wine in great requeſt at *Rome*, than for this obſcure edition which is the only one we have printed there. The ſame author mentions alſo a ſingle edition, *viz. Laurent. Gilelmi de Saona Rhetorica*, printed at *Villa S. Albani*, 1480, but whether it be our *St. Albans* in *England*, which had the art much ſooner, or any other town of that name, beyond ſea, of which there are a great many in almoſt every province, is not eaſy nor of great moment to determine.

Article VI. LIGNITZ, HASSELET, REGGIO, *and* MONT-ROYAL, 1481.

§. 1. LIGNITZ in *Sileſia*, in which was printed the following book, *Fr. Hermani dialogus*; *Lignis*, without the Printer's name, 1481.

§. 2. AT *Haſſelet*, a place unknown, was printed *Recollectorium ex geſtis Romanormm*, fol. *Haſſeleti*, Orl. 1481.

§. 3. REGIO, a city in *Lombardy*, belonging to the Marquiſs of *Eſte*, rich, ancient and populous, had the Art of Printing from

1. PROSPER ODOARD, and 2. ALBERT MAZALI, 1471.

OF whom we have 3 edit. The two firſt 1481, the laſt 1487.

3. BARTHOLOMEW BOTTONUS, *alias Bruſchi* of *Reggio*, 1 edit. 1482.

4. DIONYS BERTOCH, who wrought firſt at *Treviſo*, next at *Venice*, then at *Modena*, ſettled at laſt at *Reggio*, where we find 4 edit. of his from 1496 to 1498.

5. FRANCIS MAZALA, of *Reggio*, 3 edit. from 1498, to 1499.

§. 4. MONT-ROYAL, in *Latin Mons Regalis*, in the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and near the city of *Palermo*, where *Dominic de Nivaldis* and his ſons printed an edition of *Æſop's Fables* in *Latin* verſe, *fol.* 1481.

§. 5. AT *Wartsburg*, in *Latin Herbipolis*, was printed *Miſſale in uſum Eccleſia Herbipolenſis*, impreſs *Herbipoli*, fol. 1481.

This book the earl of *Pembroke* told me he ſaw at *Oxford*; it has a *Latin* privilege at the end, impowering Mr. *Iſorius Ryſer* to print thoſe *Miſſals*, and to adorn them with rubricks. We have already taken notice, that this book had been ſet down in the liſt of Archbiſhop *Laud*'s books for a MS. which is the reaſon it has not been mention'd by any of our annaliſts.

Article

Article VII. *The Cities of* PISA, AQUILA, ERFORD *and* LANGRES, 1482.

§. 1. PISA is an antient, rich and populous city of *Tuſcany*, where the Art of Printing got but ſmall footing and encouragement. It is very likely that the wars which rag'd in ſeveral parts of *Italy*, from the time of the art's being brought to it, might be a great cauſe of the ſmall progreſs it made in this, as well as many other, otherwiſe, conſiderable cities of *Italy*. We find but 4 editions printed here, the three firſt dated 1482, 1484 and 1489, are without Printers names. The only one that has, is *Antonii Parnormit. libri* IV. *dictorum factorum*, &c. fol. by *Gregory de Gente. Piſis* 1485.

§. 2. AT *Aquila*, an epiſcopal city in the territory of *Abruſo*, diſtant about ſixty miles from *Rome*, was printed an *Italian* verſion of *Plutarch*'s lives, by *Adam de Rotwill*, a German, who ſtiles himſelf *Stampatore excellente. Aquilæ* 1482.

ORLANDI tells us pag. 196, that Mr. *Robert Frebairn*, (now the king's Printer in *Scotland*, and a particular friend of mine) ſhew'd him among ſome of his curious annotations upon editions which he had ſeen, the firſt part of the aforeſaid lives printed at *Aquila*, *ann.* 1472; but ſaid, he never could ſee the ſecond part which was afterwards added to the firſt. The credit of this entirely depends upon that gentleman's obſervation; but our author ſays, that he never ſaw any other part but this which we have given, nor heard of it from any but him.

§. 3. AT *Erford*, a large city in *Germany*, erected into an univerſity *ann.* 1391, and ſubject to the elector of *Mentz*, was printed *Lutreus de anima. Erford* 1482.

§. 4. AT *Langres*, an epiſcopal city in *Burgundy*, the people of which were call'd *Lingones* by *Lucan*, *Claudian*, &c. and ſtill retain that name; we find the following edition, *viz.*

JO. *de Turre-cremeta ord. præd. card. expoſitio ſuper pſalterium*. Impreſ. per *Johan. Fabri Lingonenſem*, 1482.

IT hath no place's name; only *la Caille*, and after him *Orlandi* have ſuppos'd it, from the Printer's appellative, to have been printed at *Langres*. However the reader may find the ſame Printer at *Turin*, from *anno*

1474

1474 to 1477, and at *Lyons* from 1478 to 1485. *Orlandi* dates the ſame edition from *Turin*, by the ſame Printer, where I think it more properly belongs.

Article VIII. GAUNT *and* MEMINING, 1483.

§. 1. GAUNT, in *Latin Gandavum*, is too well known by moſt readers to need a deſcription. Here were printed the two following editions without the Printers names.

1. GUILLELMUS *Pariſienſis de rhetoricâ divinâ*, 4to. *Gandavi. Orl.* 1483.

2. BOETII *de conſolatione Philoſophiæ*, lib. 5. *cum S. Thom. Aquin. comment.* fol. *ibid.*

§. 2. AT *Memining*, a City in *Swabia*, between *Ulms* and *Ausburgh*, we find ſix editions printed from *ann.* 1483 to 1494, all without Printers names.

CHAP. XII.

The reſt of the Cities and Places, which began to print before the year 1500, *with an Account of the Books printed there.*

Article I. *The Town of* SONCINO, 1484.

SONCINO is a town or caſtle in the duchy of *Milan*, between *Breſcia* and *Cremona*, and famous for being the place in which the firſt *Hebrew* books were printed. The Chriſtians had hitherto eſteem'd ſuch a deſign too expenſive and impracticable; it being ſcarce poſſible to find artiſts in thoſe early days, who could cut punches exactly enough in that difficult and unpractis'd character. Another difficulty, which ſeem'd to them almoſt unſurmountable was, that to caſt the letters with the points and accents, would multiply the caſes to an exceſſive degree; and to print without points, accents, *&c.* would have infallibly prevented the ſale of their books, becauſe few at that time, except the Jews, could read

read without them; and to caſt the points and accents by themſelves, and interline them as now, ſeem'd then perhaps wholly impracticable. We have ſeen under the article of *Aldus Manucius*, that he procur'd a font of *Hebrew* types; but tho' the Jews had already printed at *Soncino* and elſewhere for above twelve or fifteen years, which might have given him an inſight into their method of printing in that language, yet he found it ſo difficult, that he made but little uſe of them; and I can find nothing done by him in that kind, but an *Hebrew* alphabet, which *Chevilier* tells us is preſerv'd in the *Sorbon* library. The Jews therefore, as they were the fitteſt for ſuch a province, were the firſt who ſet about it. What encouragement they might receive from the Chriſtians in ſuch an undertaking, I cannot affirm; yet it is probable they might in a great meaſure depend upon that; and without leave from the Pope and the Dukes of *Milan* they dar'd not have attempted it. Soon after the Jews had propagated this art into ſeveral cities of *Italy*, ſuch as *Breſcia*, *Bologna*, *Rimini*, *Fano*, *Peſaro*, and even as far as *Conſtantinople* and *Salonica*, in all which places they inſcrib'd their editions as done by ſome of the family of *Soncino*; the Chriſtians who now began to print in *Hebrew* in moſt cities of *Europe*, in *Italy*, at *Venice*, *Cremona*, *Mantua*, *Verona*, *Ferrara*, *Leghorn*, *Padua*, *Naples*, &c. in *England*, *London* and *Oxford*; in *Germany*, *Baſil*, *Frankford*, *Cologn*, &c. in *France*, *Paris*, *Lyons*, &c. with ſome cities of *Spain*, *Holland*, *Poland*, &c. ſet up ſome ingenious artiſts, who engag'd in that province; tho' it muſt be own'd that the editions of the Jews were far preferable to thoſe for beauty and correctneſs. However there were few impreſſions of this kind printed any where, but by theſe Jews of the *Soncino* family, 'till after the year 1500. Mr. *Mattaire Ann. Typog.* vol. 1. p. 152. makes a curious obſervation after father *le Long*, which is, that in all the books that he had ſeen printed in this tongue before that year, as often as the name of God occurs in the text, they made uſe of the letter *Daleth* inſtead of *He*. Thus for inſtance they printed יהוד for יהוה, and אלדים for אלהים; for which no reaſon can be aſſign'd.

I MUST not omit giving the reader an account, which we meet with in *Buxtorf* the father, of a book, that he tells us was in the poſſeſſion of *Joſeph Scaliger*, of a much older date than thoſe of *Soncino*. It was an

Hebrew

Hebrew grammar intitled *Mahala Scevile Haddas*, written by *R. Moſes Kimchi*, which *Buxtorf* ſays had been printed in *Sicily* 152 years ago; *Habuit Joſephus Scaliger impreſſum in Siciliâ ante annos* 152. (Theſe words *Buxtorf* the ſon did not alter, when he reprinted his father's book at *Baſil*, *anno* 1640 in 8vo.) This, if it be true, will oblige us to ſeek much higher for the origin of *Hebrew-printing*, than the year 1484; which is the time wherein *Rabbi Gedaliah*, and after him the learned *Bartolocci* have affirm'd it to have begun; for if we ſubſtract 152 years from 1613 in which *Buxtorf* wrote, it will bring us to the year 1461. *Chevilier* p. 267 tells us, that he ſaw a third edition of this grammar, printed at *Ortona* in the kingdom of *Naples*, in the ſecond year of *Charles* king of *Sicily* and *Jeruſalem*, i. e. *anno* 1496, which ſhews that there muſt have been two editions of it before; and *Cornelius a Beughen* in his *Incunab. Typog.* p. 126 mentions an old *Hebrew* edition printed at *Bologna*, *anno* 1471, with this title, *R. Obadia Sephorno lux populorum. Liber Hebraicus ſic dictus, Bononiæ* 1471. But as he doth not tell us in what library he met with it, and as we have not a ſufficient certainty of the truth of the dates of this and the other book mention'd by *Buxtorf*; I can ſee no reaſon for departing from the epoch of our lateſt annaliſts, to aſſign a new one upon uncertain grounds.

THE firſt *Jew* who oblig'd the world with *Hebrew* impreſſions, was

MOSES *the Son of* RABBI ISRAEL NATHAN, 1484.

A NATIVE of *Spire* in *Germany*, whoſe family multiply'd ſo much, and receiv'd ſuch encouragement in this undertaking, that they ſpread themſelves over ſeveral parts of *Italy*, and printed many noble editions with vaſt ſucceſs and applauſe. Among theſe a ſon of this *Moſes* nam'd *Rabbi Gerſon*, after he had printed ſeveral works at *Breſcia*, of which we have given an account, went and ſet up a Preſs at *Conſtantinople*, ſome time before the cloſe of this century, and continued printing there till *ann.* 1530. Some of his ſons remov'd to *Salonica*, and other cities of the *Ottoman* empire, where they met with the ſame ſucceſs. But as their works, at leaſt as far as we know of them, were done after the year 1500,

I ſhall

I ſhall not give the reader a liſt of them, but confine myſelf to thoſe printed in *Italy* before that time. The editions at *Soncino* are as follows.

1. MINCHAH *Happenini* 4*to*. *Soncini*, anno mundi 5244. which anſwers to our 1484.

2. BECHINAL *Olam.* (Hebr.) *ibid.* 1485.

3. PROPHETÆ *priores.* (Hebr. abſque punctis) cum Com. *R. David Kimchi.* fol. *ibid.* 1486.

4. IKKARIM. per *R. Joſeph Albo.* ibid. 1486.

5. BIBLIA *Hebraica cum punctis per Abraham fil. Rabb. Hhajim.* fol. *ibid.* 1488.

6. BERACHOTH and *Beitzah. ibid.* 1489.

7. JAD HHASAKAH RAMBAM. 2 fol. 1490.

Article II. LEIPSICK. 1484.

LEIPSICK, in *Latin Lipſia*, the Capital of *Saxony*, and founded into an univerſity in 1404 by *Frederic.* 1. elector of that name, receiv'd the Art of Printing in 1484; and tho' it produ'd but few impreſſions before the year 1500, and yet it is become one of the moſt famous cities in *Germany* for the numbers of books printed there. The firſt Printer who ſettled there was,

1. MARK BRANDT,

OF whom we have only the following edition, *viz.*

ALBICII *Archiepiſcopi Pragenſis praxis medendi.* 4to. *per Marcum Brandt. Lipſiæ.* 1484.

[1] At the End of the Pentateuch are theſe Words;

Et abſolutum eſt opus miniſterii, viginti quatuor ſapiens ad docendum legem in Iſrael excellens & illuſtris Joſua Selomo (*videat ſemen, producat dies vitæ. amen.*) *filius illuſtris ſapientiſſimi* Iſrael Nathan, *feriâ tertiâ* xi *menſis Jiar ann* במח *juxta minorem ſupputationem; manu minimi in familia ſua, fidelis chalcographi,* Abraham *F. illuſtris* Rabbi Hhajim *felicis memoriæ, ex viris piis terræ Piſauri Bononiæ, Impreſſum opus Soncini.*

Chevillier p. 80. mentions another Hebrew bible printed in fol. at *Bologna* in the ſame year 1488. It is in the Library of *C. Barberini* at *Paris*; the Catalogue of which gives us an account of it in the following Words, pag. 147. *Biblia Hebraica Bononiæ ab impreſſoribus Soncinenſibus apud Abrahamum Jarzium Piſaurenſem.* 1488. But it is a queſtion whether it be not the ſame with this of *Soncino.*

[2] *Rambam* is an abbreviation of *Rabbi Moſe-Ben-Maimon*; as *Abenezra* is of *Abraham-Ben-Ezra*, &c.

2. GREGORY BOETICHER, 1 edit. 1493.

3. WOLFGANG MOLITOR *de Monaco*, 2 edit from 1495, to 1496.

4. JAMES THANNER, 2 edit. from 1498, to 1499.

WITH about twenty more without Printers names.

5. ANDREW *Faiſner*, a learned man, of whom we have given a full account under the article of *Nuremberg*, where he follow'd the Buſineſs of printing and correcting till the year 1478, after which he remov'd to *Leipſick*, and became *Rector magnificus* of that univerſity. The only book we find printed by him here is the *Hiſtoria Longobardica*, but our *German* author not having given us the date of it, no proper rank could be aſſign'd to it in this liſt.

Article III. VIENNA *and* URBINO, 1484.

§. 1. VIENNA (not the capital of *Auſtria*, as *Orlandi* thought) but a city in *Dauphiny* had two Printers, *viz.*

1. PETER *Schenk* of whom we have only the following edition, *l'Abuſe de Cour*, fol. *par Pierre Schenk*.

2. CONRARD *Celtis*, 1 edit. 1500.

§. 2. AT *Urbino* a city in *Italy* famous for being the native place of that excellent painter *Raphael Sancius*; ſirnam'd from it *Urbin*, was printed the following book without the Printer's name.

PAULI *Middleburgenſis Epiſcopi Sempronienſis Practica de pravis conſtellationibus, ad Maximilianum Cæſarem, Urbini*, 1484.

Article IV. ANTWERP, HEIDELBERGH, CREMONA *and* HARLEM. 1485.

§. 1. ANTWERP, a large, rich and populous city in *Flanders*, did not much ſignalize itſelf in the art of printing in this 15*th.* century, but made ample amends for it in the two following, having produc'd ſome of the fineſt and largeſt editions of any place in the world, and by the number of its Printers, among whom were the famous *Bellers*, *Raphelengius*, *Plantin*, *Morellus*, *Gumelers*, *Mevoſius*, *Verdufen*, and many

many more, all too well known to the learned, to need a digreſſion here in their praiſe. The firſt known Printer here was

1. GERARD LEU *or* de LEEU. 1485,

WHO priated firſt at *Goude* in 1480, whence he came to *Antwerp*: we have but four editions of his extant, from 1485 to 1491.

2. ADRIAN *de Lieſvelt*, 1 edit. 1495.

3. NICOLAS *Keſler* of *Baſil*, where he wrought from 1486 to 1494, betwixt which times we find a *Latin* bible, fol. printed by him, in 1487.

WITH a few more without Printers names.

§ 2. HEIDELBERGH is a city and univerſity in the lower *Palatinat*, and ſeat of the elector *Palatine*, where we find 5 edit. from 1485 to 1489, all without Printers names.

§ 3. CREMONA is a city and univerſity in *Lombardy*, famous for the beſt violins, *&c.* the following edition was printed here in 1485.

HERMOLAI *Barbari Caſtigatio in Plinii Nat. Hiſt.* without the Printers name. Tho' this is all our annaliſts mention, yet a learned gentleman aſſures me he has ſeen two editions more printed here, one was *Fracaſtorius* and the other *Vida*.

THE only Printers of this city as yet known are the two following, *viz.*

1. BERNARDINE *de Miſenti* of *Pavia*, and
2. CÆSAR *de Parma*. } 1 edit. 1492.

WE have ſeen *Miſenti* under the article of *Breſcia*, ann. 1495.

§ 4. HARLEM a city in *Holland*, ſufficiently known to thoſe who have read the firſt part of this hiſtory, for the great controverſy ſtarted in favour of it, and for the number of her champions, who have endeavour'd to deck her *COSTER*'s tomb with the trophies of this noble art, has produc'd ſo ſmall a number of works during this *15th* century, if we allow it the *Donatus*, *Speculum*, *&c.* done upon wooden blocks ſo much boaſted of by the *Dutch* Writers (tho' their title even to theſe has been ſhewn to be as precarious as that of *Mentz*;) that the reader no doubt will be ſurpriz'd, that we have not been able to find but one book printed there before 1500, *viz.*

De *Proprietatibus Rerum libri* xviii *Opus Theologicum & Philoſophicum*, fol. 1485.

Article V. ABBEVILLE *and* TOLEDO, 1486.

§ 1. Abbeville a city in *Picardy*, had two famous Printers and Bookſellers ſettled there for a ſmall ſpace, *viz. John du Pré* and *Peter Gerard* of whom we have but one edition printed here; after which they remov'd to *Paris* as has been ſaid.

S. Auguſtin de la Cité de Dieu, fol. *par Jean du Pré & Pierre Gerard* xxviii *Novem.* 1486.

§ 2. Toledo, in *Latin Toletum*, an archiepiſcopal city of *Aragon* in *Spain* printed

Petri *Ximenes Confutatorium errorum contra Claves eccleſiæ, nuper editorum Toleti*, without the Printers name, 1486.

Peter *Hugembach* reprinted by order of Cardinal *Ximenes.*

Miſſale *mixtum ſecundum Regulam Beati Iſidori, dictum.*

Mozarabes fol. 1500.

Two years after he was order'd by the ſame Cardinal to print the breviary of the ſame *St Iſidorus.*

These two Books are reckon'd very ſcarce and valuable, eſpecially by thoſe of the Church of *Rome.*

§ 3. Rimino, in *Latin Ariminum*, a city in *Romania*, had a Printer of the *Jewiſh* family of *Soncino*, before mentioned, who printed

R. Joſeph Albo Philoſophi, Arbor plantata, in *Hebrew* 4to. 1486.

This book contains the fundamentals of the *Jewiſh* religion, and is levelled againſt the *Chriſtians.*

§ 4. At *Munſter*, in *Latin Monaſterium*, an epiſcopal city, we meet with the following editions printed by *John Limburgh.*

Rodolphi *Langii nobilis Weſtphali & Monaſterienſis Canonici Carmina*, 1486.

§ 5. At *Meſſina*, a famous city of *Sicily*, we find two books printed, one without Printers name, *viz.*

Hiſtoria *prœliorum Alexandri Magni Ducis Maced.* fol. 1486.

THE other is printed by
WILLIAM *Schonberger* of *Frankford*, and is dated, 1498.

Article VI. 1. MODENA, 2. BOISLEDUC, 1487, 3. EYCHSTADT, 4. TUBINGEN, 5. ROCCEN, 6. GAETA, *and* 7. THOLOUSE, 1488.

§ 1. MODENA, in *Latin Mutina*, is an ancient city in *Italy*, now under the dominion of the houſe of *Eſte* Duke of *Parma* and *Modena*. The firſt Printer we find here was

1. DOMINIC *Rocociola* of whom we have ſeven editions from 1487 1498.

2. DIONYS *Bertoch*, whom we have ſeen already under the articles of *Venice*, *Treviſo* and *Reggio*, and under ſeveral names, did at length conclude the century at *Modena*. We have two editions left of him from 1499 to 1500.

§. 2. AT *Boiſleduc*, in *Latin Boſcum-Ducis*, a ſtrong city in *Brabant* was printed one edition, *viz.*

PRÆCEPTA XX. *Elegantiarum grammaticarum*, 4 to. 1487.

§. 3. AT *Eychſtat* in *Upper Bavaria*, in *Latin Eiſteta*, was printed *Obſequiale ſive Benedictionale Eiſtetenſe per Michaelem Keiſer*, 1488.

§. 4. TUBINGEN a city in the duchy of *Wirtemberg*, and made an univerſity in 1477. had a Printer nam'd.

FREDERIC *Meynberger*, who printed two editions of *Gabriel Biel's expoſitio Canonis Miſſæ*, from 1488 to 1489. The laſt of which was revis'd by *Vendelin Stembach*, and is much more correct than the firſt, but has neither Printer nor places name.

§. 5. ROUEN in *Latin Rothomagum*, is an archiepiſcopal ſee, and the capital of *Normandy*, whoſe firſt Printer was,

1. JOHN *le Bourgois* of whom we have 2 edit. from 1488 to 1498.

2. MARTIN *Morin*, 3 edit from 1494 to 1500.

3. PETER *Regnault*, Printer and bookſeller, whom we have ſeen in the article of *Caen*, 1 edit. 1500.

At this place was printed a book, on the ſubject of grammar, for Martin Coeſtin *dwelling at* Exeter, *and the only one I ever met with, which is in the Earl of* Pembroke's *library.*

§. 6. At *Gaeta* an ancient city in that part of *Italy*, call'd *Latium*, was printed by,

Master *Juſtus*, 1 edit. *viz.*

Dialogo *de S. Gregorio Papa*, fol. 1488.

§. 7. Tholouse is the capital city of *Gaſcony*, in which we read of *John James Colomiez* with ſome more of his own family exerciſing the Art of Printing before and after the year 1500, but can meet with only one edition before the cloſe of the century, *viz. Thomæ de Valois in D. Auguſtini de Civitate Dei Commentarii*, Tholouſe 1488, without Printer's name.

Article VII. *The Cities of* SIENA *and* HAGENAW, 1489.

§. 1. Siena, an ancient city and univerſity in *Tuſcany*, had an eminent Printer nam'd *Sigiſmund Rot*, of whom we have two editions ſtill extant, one without date, *viz. L. Florus de geſtis Romanorum*, and *Cicero*'s *Clauſulæ Epiſtol.* 1489; but whether he was the ſame with that *Sigiſmund*, who ſirnam'd himſelf *de Libris*, and for whom *Dominic de Lapis* printed ſeveral books at *Bologna anno* 1476, or ſome other, is not eaſy to determine: theſe two are all the books which I could find printed at *Siena* before the cloſe of the century.

§. 2. At *Hagenaw*, a city in *Alſatia* in upper *Germany*, but now under the French king, we find the following edition dated 1489, but without Printer's name, *viz.*

Joh. *de Garlandia Cornutus, ſive Diſticha Exametra Moralia cum interpretatione. Hagenoæ.*

The two following Printers, *Joh. Ryman* and *Henry Gran*, did likewiſe print in this city: we have two editions of theirs, one dated 1497, and the other 1500.

We find likewiſe ſome other works done here without Printer's names from 1493 to 1500.

Article

Article VIII. *The Cities of* LISBON *and* SEVIL, 1491.

§. 1. LISBON, in *Latin Ulyſſipo*, the metropolis of the kingdom of *Portugal*, did not ſignalize itſelf by any productions in this kind, if we except the two following ones, which being both in *Hebrew*, might be done by ſome of the family of *Soncino*, mention'd before. They are as follows,

PENTATEUCHE *Hebraia cum Paraphraſ. Chald. & punctis, fol. Uliſſipone*, 1491.

ISAIÆ *& Hieremiæ lib. cum Comment. Rabbi David Kimchi, Hebraicé, fol. Ulyſſipone*, 1497.

2. SEVIL, in *Latin Hiſpalis* and *Sevilia*, is an ancient archiepiſcopal city and univerſity in *Spain*, in which we find

PAUL *de Colonia, Joh. Pegniczer de Nuremberg, le Grand* and *Thomas*, flouriſhing *anno* 1491; in which they printed the two following works, after which we hear no more of them.

ALPHONS. *Teſt. Epiſc. Abulenſis opera, fol. Hiſpali.*

FLORETUM *S. Matthæi collectum a R. Præſule Caurienſ. Petro Praxano in ſacr. Scriptura Profeſſore Siciliæ*, both 1491.

BESIDES theſe we meet with three other works printed by

MEYNARD UNGUT German, *and* STANISLAUS Poloneſe, *Partners.*

THEY are all three in *Spaniſh*, the firſt is dated 1494, and the other two 1495.

Article IX. DOLE *and* INGOLDSTAD, 1492.

§. 1. AT *Dole*, a city in low *Britany*, was printed the following book,

HARNMUNDIENSIS *Lectio declarativa de Epidemio morbo*, 4*to*, per Johannem Hebertin, *Dolæ*, 1492.

§. 2. AT *Ingolſtad*, a city in *Bavaria*, was printed in the ſame year, *Porphyrii Iſagoge*, fol. *Ingolſtadii* 1492, without Printer's name.

Article

Article X. LUNEBURGH, MAGDEBURGH, THESSALONICA, FRIBURGH *and* ANGOULESME, 1493.

§. 1. JOHN LUCE printed at *Luneburgh* in lower *Saxony*, *Tho. a Kemp. de Imitat. Chriſti*, 8*vo*, *per* Jo. Luce, 1493.

§. 2. AT *Magdeburgh* in lower *Saxony* was printed *Vincentii* —— *Ordin. præd. anno Chriſti* 1455, *canonizati contemplatio de Homine interiore*, without Printer's name, *Magdeburgi* 1493.

§. 3. AT *Theſſalonica*, an archiepiſcopal city in *Macedonia*, we find the following edition in *Hebrew* by one of the family of *Soncino*, as is ſuppos'd, tho' there is no Printer's name to it.

R. ISAAC ABARBANEI, *ſeu ut alii*, *Abravanel celebris Judæi*, *& magnæ æſtimationis*, *qui obiit* A. M. 5269, *Commentarius in Prophetas priores*, *videlicet Jeſuæ*, *Judicum*, *Samuelis* I *&* II. *Regum* I *&* II. *Hæbraicé*, *fol.* Theſſalonicæ, 1493.

§. 4. AT *Friburg* in upper *Germany*, we find three editions printed by one *Kilian*, from 1493 to 1499.

§. 5. AT *Angouleſme* in *France* was printed the following work, *viz.* GRÆCISMUS *Angoliſmi.* without Printer's name.

Article XI. LYRIA, MADRID *and* BARCELONA, 1494.

§. 1. LYRIA is a caſtle in the kingdom of *Valentia* in *Spain*, where the following *Hebrew* work was printed by ſome of the *Soncino* family, *viz.*

PROPHETÆ *priores cum Com. R. David Kimchi*, *fol.* Leiriæ, 1494, without Printer's name.

§. 2. AT *Madrid* the capital of *Spain* was printed *Concilium Illiberitanum*, *fol.* Madrid 1494.

§. 3. AND at *Barcelona*, the capital of *Catalonia*, we find three editions from 1494 to 1500, without Printer's names.

Article XII. GRENADA, MONTFERRAT, MIRANDULA *and* PAMPELUNA, 1496.

WE have but one edition of each of theſe four places; the three firſt are inconſiderable, and without Printer's names: the laſt is printed by *William de Brocario*.

Article

Article XIII. AVIGNON, LEYDEN *and* PROVINS, *&c.* 1497.

1. At *Avignon*, a city in the ſouthern part of *France*, ſubject to the pope, we meet with a Printer nam'd *Nicolas Lepe*, a native of that city; we have but one edition of his before the cloſe of the century, *viz. anno* 1497.

2. At *Leyden* in *Holland*, one edition in *low Dutch*.

3. At *Provins* (not a province ſo call'd in the ſouth part of *France*, as *Orlandi* and others have miſtook it) but a town in the county of *Brie* in the ſame kingdom; we have one ſmall edition printed by one *William Tavernier*, 1497.

4. At *Bergamo*, we find one edition dated, *anno* 1498; and

5. At *Bemberg* two, *anno* 1499; the former is without the Printer's name, the laſt by *John Pfeil*.

I must not omit acquainting the reader that there are ſtill above twenty editions, which being without dates, places, or Printers names, were not reducible to our former liſts, tho' they are ſuppos'd to have been printed before the cloſe of the 15th century. The reader may find them at the end of Mr. *Mattaire*'s annals, vol. 1. with ſuch remarks as that diligent author could make upon them.

I shall conclude this chapter with this obſervation, that the Art of cutting upon wooden blocks having paſt from the Printers to the engravers of cuts, they began to interſperſe them among their works; ſo that we find many hiſtories, both ſacred and profane, adorn'd with wooden cuts, which, tho' already mention'd in the liſts of impreſſions under every city, yet we ſhall ſubjoyn here altogether, at leaſt the moſt conſiderable of them.

1. The *Speculum*, or mirrour of our ſalvation in *Latin*, and another in *low Dutch*.

2. The *Speculum morientium*, or mirrour of a dying perſon.

3. The hiſtory of St. *John*'s Apocalypſe.

All theſe are challeng'd by the *Dutch* writers in favour of *Harlem*.

4. Meditationes *in figuras, quas Romæ in templo S. Mariæ ſupra Minervam pingere.*

5. CURAVIT *Jo. de Turre cremata*, Romæ, *anno* 1467 *and* 1473, *fol.*

6. FASCICULUS *temporum*, printed at *Louvain*, 1474, and afterwards both here and elſewhere, *fol.*

7. VALTURIUS *de re militari*, at *Verona*, 1472.

8. PASSIONALE *van Jeſu und. Mariæ Leben.* at *Strasburgh*, 1477; *Geneva*, 1490.

9. ÆSOPI *fabulæ*, *fol.* at *Naples*, 1481, and elſewhere afterwards.

10. DIALOGUS *creaturarum*, in *low Dutch*, at *Goude*, 1482.

11. THE *Bible*, in *high Dutch*, fol. at *Nurembergh*, 1483.

12. LA *mer des hiſtoires*, 1 vol. with 286 cuts, at *Paris*, 1485.

13. LE *proces de Belial*, &c. tranſlated out of *Latin* into *French*, 4to, at *Lyons*, 1485, 1490.

14. ALBAMASAR *Arab. aſtrolog. flores aſtrologiæ*, at *Ausburgh*, 1489, and elſewhere.

15. SEBASTIAN BRANT's *navis ſtultifera*, at *Baſil*, 1491, 1496, and 1497.

16. HORTUS *ſanitatis*, at *Mentz*, 1491.

17. REVELATIONES *S. Brigittæ*, fol. at *Lubeck*, 1492, and elſewhere.

18. TERENTIUS, 4to, at *Lyons*, 1493; *Strasburgh*, 1496.

19. OPUS *libri chronicon.* fol. at *Ausburgh*, 1497.

20. GUIL. COURSIN's ſiege of *Rhodes* in *Latin*, at *Ulms*, 1497.

21. POLIPHILI *Hypnerolomachia*, fol. at *Venice*, 1499, and elſewhere.

IT muſt be own'd, that the deſign and performance of theſe, and many more of that ſort, were very rude and uncouth, as all muſt acknowledge, who have ſeen them; which is rather owing to the covetouſneſs of the bookſellers, who choſe to employ the cheapeſt hands, than to any want of excellent artiſts in that kind. For ſoon after the very infancy of Printing we meet with a great number of theſe engravers, whoſe performances were vaſtly ſuperior to the beſt of thoſe in the foregoing liſt. Of this number were *Andreas Martegna* in *Mantua*, *Maſo Finiguerra* in *Florence*, *Bon Martin* in *Germany*, *Michael Volgemut* and *Albert Durer* at *Nurembergh*, *Iſrael Van-Mecheln* at *Mentz*, *Hans Schauflich* at *Nordeling*, and many more; ſome of whom, tho' they were excell'd by their ſucceſſors in the following century, yet were all excellent maſters, and whoſe names

names and works will be ſtill valu'd by all ſkilled in that Art. Engraving upon wood became afterwards no ſmall ornament to the Art of Printing, not only for the fine cuts with which the editions were interſpers'd, but likewiſe for the front, head and tail-pieces, initial letters, *&c.* which in time became in great vogue. It prov'd alſo of great uſe in books of architecture, geometry, proſpective, and others, which require a conſiderable number of demonſtrations, figures, *&c.* in all which caſes the wooden ones are much more expeditious, being contriv'd of the ſame height with the letters, and ſo impos'd, lock'd up and printed with them at once; whereas the copper ones muſt be printed off by themſelves, and with a different preſs, which makes this method more tedious and expenſive.

CHAP. XIII.

Of ſome eminent Printers from anno 1500 *to* 1520; *their Improvements to the Art; and their Encouragement from the Great and Learned; with a Catalogue of their moſt conſiderable Impreſſions in the Oriental Tongues,* &c.

I HAVE, in the introduction to this ſecond book, given the reader my reaſons for extending this hiſtory ſo far beyond the year 1500; and I preſume that he is now fully ſatisfied that it would have been imperfect, if I had ſtopt there; ſince the far greateſt part of thoſe Printers, who ſignaliz'd themſelves, either for their learning or their induſtry, in improving every branch of Printing, appear'd not till the cloſe of that century, or the beginning of the next; and conſequently, he muſt have known little of thoſe perſons, to whom the world is particularly oblig'd for the vaſt improvements to this Art. Upon this account I have continued, in the preceeding chapters, the hiſtory of ſeveral famous Printers to the end of their lives, tho' ſome of them ſurviv'd even this epocha many years. But we omitted to give a liſt of their works beyond 1500,

becauſe that would have ſwell'd this volume exorbitantly, and thoſe impreſſions are leſs ſcarce than thoſe of the former century. We ſhall add nothing therefore to their hiſtory, but proceed to do juſtice to the merit of thoſe, who tho' they enter'd not this province, till after the beginning of the 16th century, yet may be juſtly eſteem'd contemporaries with the former.

'T is not however to be expected that we ſhould proſecute the ſame method, as in the former chapters, by ſhewing the progreſs of the Art thro' every city, much leſs by giving an account of every particular Printer, and the number of their impreſſions; ſince ſuch an hiſtory, how ſuccinct ſoever, would be too large for a ſingle chapter. Our deſign is therefore only to mention the moſt conſiderable Printers, and to point out the great improvements which each of them made to this Art, the encouragement they met with, and the noble impreſſions in all languages, particularly the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Arabic*, &c. (the firſt of which had been juſtly eſſay'd, before 1500, but the other ſcarce attempted) with an account of the undertakers and aſſiſtants in that difficult province. For as to the beauty of the characters, whether Roman or Greek, they were brought to ſuch a degree of perfection in the preceeding century by the *Italians* and *French*, as hardly admitted of much additional beauty.

T o proceed in order, we ſhould begin with the Germans, to whom we owe the Art; tho' the Italians were the authors of thoſe improvements, which the former were too indolent in imitating; for the oriental tongues, and even the Greek, which the Italians had made a very conſiderable progreſs in, was ſtill much neglected by them; ſo that except *Amerbach* and *Froben* at *Baſil* in *Switzerland* (which can ſcarce be call'd a part of *Germany*) who printed an *Hebrew* pſalter, and *Eraſmus*'s *Greek* teſtament with his *Latin* verſion of it, *anno* 1586, we meet with but three eminent perſons, who attempted to print in the Eaſtern languages. The firſt is *John Schott* of *Strasburgh*, *anno* 1515, who printed *Lucian*'s dialogues of the gods in *Greek* with the *Latin* verſion of *Othomar Nachtgall*, with the title page in red, and ſome ornaments on the margin of the *Greek* text, and an *errata* at the end. By the compliments which the tranſlator makes him in the preface, he ſeems to have been a very good Printer. He printed for

George

George Maxill about five years before. His rebus or mark is in the table at the end of this book. The ſecond is *Eucharius Cervicorn* (*i. e.* Hartshorn) at *Cologn*, who printed ſome *Greek* editions, the firſt, *anno* 1517, is the *Hours of the bleſſed Virgin Mary*, the *ſeven penitential Pſalms*, and ſome litanies and prayers in *Greek*, with one or two more after. His types are tolerable, but the edition ſomewhat faulty. The third is *John Potken* of the ſame city, who publiſh'd there a pſalter in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latin* and *Æthiopic*, *anno* 1518, 4to. This perſon travell'd into *India*, *Æthiopia*, *Ægypt*, &c. in order to become maſter of the *Chaldiac* or *Æthiopic*, and tranſlated the pſalter into that language, and publiſh'd it with the other verſions. He promis'd in his preface to perform ſomething likewiſe in the *Arabick*, if he ſhould meet with ſufficient encouragement; but I do not find that he executed this. As for the Printer of this pſalter, his name is no where to be found in the book.

THIS is all I know of, that has been attempted by the Germans in that kind; tho' to do them juſtice in another reſpect, they were induſtrious in printing *Latin* works that were very voluminous; particularly the *Decretum Gratiani*, printed by *Henry Eggeſtein*, at *Strasburgh*, which exceeds all that have been ſince printed for bulk; and *Vincentii Speculum*, by *John Mentel*, in ten large volumes, *fol.* In the following century they have been no leſs diligent, and publiſh'd a very conſiderable number of impreſſions.

ITALY follows in courſe; where, tho' great numbers of editions of the antient *Greek* and *Latin* writers, as well as of the modern, were publiſh'd; yet the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, &c. ſeem'd almoſt wholly neglected. 'Tis true, that there had been, as we obſerv'd, two *Hebrew* editions at *Lisbon* in *Portugal*, one *anno* 1491, and the other *anno* 1497; and that the Jews of *Soncino* had printed ſeveral *Hebrew* volumes there from 1485, to the cloſe of the century; and, having diſpers'd themſelves into other cities of *Italy*, continued printing their own books in that language. But with reſpect to the Chriſtians, no direct attempts were made that way, 'till *Daniel Bombergh*, an *Antwerpian*, ſet up a Printing-houſe for *Hebrew* at *Venice*. His firſt work was the *Hebrew* bible, *anno* 1511, 4to, reprinted by him ſeveral times, and particularly *anno* 1518; in which year he likewiſe printed

printed his *Bibliæ Hebræa Rabinica* in *fol.* containing the *Hebrew* text of the bible, the *Maſora* and *Targums* of *Onkelos*, *Jeruſalem*, and *Jonathan*, *R. Joſeph*, ſirnam'd the *Blind*, and other *Rabbi*'s comments, *&c.* which he dedicated to *Leo* X. But tho' *Bombergh* took a great deal of pains in this impreſſion, and was himſelf a good maſter of the *Hebrew*, which he had learn'd of *Fælix Pratenſis*, a learned *Italian*, who perſuaded him to undertake this edition, and aſſiſted in correcting it; yet the Jews ſet no value upon it; but *Rabbi Chajin* prevail'd on him to print another in 4 vol. in *fol.* which he did *anno* 1525; and which was reprinted *anno* 1548. 'Tis not my buſineſs to enquire into the merit of thoſe editions; yet I cannot but obſerve, after ſeveral great criticks, that the Jews have always ſucceeded better in works of this kind than the Chriſtians, as being more us'd to the niceties of the tongue, eſpecially in its points and accents. *Bombergh* continued printing in *Hebrew* near forty years; and all his works were highly eſteem'd on account of the beauty of the character and impreſſion, their correctneſs, the fineneſs of the paper, and the number that he printed, which *Joſ. Scaliger* tells us amounted to above four millions of crowns of gold. He made uſe of the moſt learned Jews for his correctors. His greateſt work was the *Talmud* printed *anno* 1520 in xi vol. *fol.* *F. Bartolocci* obſerv'd, that after his death *Hebrew-printing* declin'd exceedingly.

THE next improvement of this Art was by printing *Polyglot* works; and herein the city of *Genoa* firſt oblig'd the world. *Peter Paul Porrus*, a native of *Milan*, but inhabitant of *Turin*, an eminent Printer, undertook to print the [1] Pentaglot pſalter of *Auguſtin Juſtinian*, biſhop of *Nebo*, *anno* 1516, in the houſe of *Nicholas Juſtinian Paul*, at *Genoa*. It was in *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Chaldaic*, and *Greek*, with the *Latin* verſions, gloſſes and Scholia, which laſt made the 8th column, in *fol.*

SINCE I wrote this I have ſeen a fine copy of it upon vellum at my Lord *Pembroke*'s, on which I ſhall venture to make the following obſervations, *viz.*

[1] Impreſſit miro Ingenio, *Petrus Paulus Porrus*, genuæ in Ædibus *Nicolai Juſtiniani Pauli* præſidente Reipub. genuenſi pro Sereniſſimo Franc. Rege præſtanti viro *Octaviano Fulgoſo*, anno chriſtianæ ſalutis milleſimo quingenteſimo ſextodecimo menſe VIIIIbri. *Petrus Paulus Porrus Mediolanenſi*, *Taurini* degens.

THAT

THAT it is a compleat maſter-piece in that kind.

THE different diſpoſition of the columns are very regular and neat, and kept up to their exact proportions, nor having one double line in the *Latin* verſions, nor are any chaſms or white lines ſeen throughout the work; ſo that I dare affirm that to this time I have never ſeen a work ſo well contriv'd, and ſo completely finiſh'd. The *Hebrew* is printed with all the points, both orthographical and muſical, the *Greek* and *Roman* is very neat, but above all the *Arabic* (allowing for its antiquity) ſurpaſſes all I have ever ſeen of the kind; and, that nothing may be wanting to compleat the whole, the preſs-work and ink, both rubricks and black, excels any thing I have ſeen, except *Durand*'s *Rationale*, printed by the inventor, *Fauſt*, in 1459, which book I have alſo ſeen in my Lord's library.

THE *Arabic* was the firſt that was ever printed, and this the firſt piece of the bible that ever appear'd in ſo many languages; for that of *Potken* at *Cologn* was not publiſh'd till two years after, and wanted the *Arabic*. The reader might reaſonably imagine, that this work met with deſerv'd encouragement; yet the reverſe appears from the juſt complaints of the author. For *F. le Long* in his account of the polyglot bibles, p. 36, tells us, „ that he (*Juſtinian*) caus'd no leſs than „ 2000 copies to be printed off, preſuming that ſuch a work would „ not only procure him a vaſt reputation, but likewiſe prove very „ gainful to him; the profits of which he deſign'd to beſtow upon „ ſome of his family who were then in want. He fancied that it „ would infallibly meet with a kind reception, and that all rich prelates „ and princes would think themſelves oblig'd to encourage it, and reim- „ burſe and inable him to proceed with the other parts of the bible.„ For this he promis'd in his preface to the pſalter; and, about twenty years after, in his annals of the Republick of *Genoa*, he propos'd to add the whole old teſtament in all thoſe languages to the new one, which was preſerv'd there, done after the ſame manner; and this he would undoubtedly have perform'd, had he not been unfortunately drown'd in his paſſage to the iſle of *Corſica* the following year. „ But, continues „ *Le Long*, he (*Juſtinian*) was deceiv'd by his too great credulity;

„ every

, every body applauded the work, but few proceeded further than that; , ſcarce a fourth part of what he had printed was ſold off. , He ſays afterwards, , that, this pſalter being of no uſe to any except the learned, , he found it impoſſible to reimburſe himſelf the expence he had been , at; becauſe, beſides the 2000 copies upon paper, he had about fifty , printed upon vellum, which he preſented to all the kings, whether , Chriſtians or Infidels. *Vid. Matt. annal. Typ. Tom.* II. *par.* 1. *p.* 121. *ſub not.* C.

'Tis well that the author's diſappointment did not diſcourage both him and others from attempting the like glorious performances: tho' we do not find any more works of that prelate in the oriental tongues, yet I have met with the following one printed at *Paris*, in 1516, which convinceth me, that he publiſh'd more of them, and in particular that which is mention'd in it. It is entitl'd, *Liber Job ad Hebraicam veritatem reſtitutus, duplici Latina verſione, una vulgata, altera ex Hebreo Auguſtini Juſtiniani*, 4to, *i. e.* the book of *Job* reſtor'd to the *Hebrew* text, with a double verſion of it, *viz.* the vulgate, and another from the *Hebrew* by *Auguſtin Juſtinianus*, 4to. But when and where *Juſtinian* printed the book of *Job* in *Hebrew* and *Latin*, I can no where find. As for *Porrus*, the Printer of the pſalter above mention'd, tho' he was paid by the Biſhop who employ'd him, yet 'tis probable he ventur'd no more upon that province; for we do not find that ever he printed any thing more in thoſe languages, tho' he return'd to *Turin*, and printed for ſeveral years after. His mark or rebus was a leak with a *P* on each ſide, alluding to his name *Peter Paul Porrus*, as was the cuſtom of that time to find ſome beaſt, bird, plant, *&c.* that had analogy to the perſon's ſirname, in order to form a rebus; as appears from the table of them at the end of this book.

The next conſiderable work is the bible of that great *Mecænas*, Cardinal *Ximenes*, archbiſhop of *Toledo*, printed at *Alcala de Herares in Spain*, in *Latin Complutum*, from whence it is call'd the *Complutentian* bible. But before we leave *Italy*, I ſhall juſt mention ſome other printers, who, tho' they did not excel in this kind, yet oblig'd the world with many noble volumes in *Latin* and *Greek*. Of this number was *Andreas Azulanus*, father-in-law to the great *Aldus* of *Venice*, who ſuc-

ſucceeded him in that Printing-houſe, and kept up the credit of it for ſeveral years. His acquaintance with the members of the learned aſſembly at *Aldus*'s houſe, as well as with his other foreign correſpondents, and his own extraordinary learning enabled him to print many noble editions, which it is not my deſign to give an account of here, ſince they may be ſeen in Mr. *Mattaire*'s *Annals*, vol. II.

THE *Junta*'s at *Florence*, a noble family of Printers, ſome of whom we have ſpoken of under the heads of *Florence*, *Rome*, *Venice* and *Lyons*, ſignaliz'd themſelves in the preceeding and this century; particularly thoſe of *Florence* were famous for their beautiful and correct editions in *Greek* and *Latin*.

THE *Lilly* was their rebus, with this motto, *Nil candidius*, i. e. *nothing is whiter*; to which they ſometimes added the initial Letters of their names, and ſometimes printed them at length. There were two of them at *Genoa*, viz. *Philip*, who began to print in 1497, and continu'd till 1518, about which time he is ſuppos'd to have dy'd, and *Bernard Junta*, but whether a brother or kinſman to him I cannot determine. The former having cauſe to ſuſpect, that his works might be pirated, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, obtain'd a patent from pope *Leo* X. of a ten years privilege for all the *Greek* and *Latin* editions, which he ſhould print from that time. As the former are all very curious and highly eſteem'd, I ſhall give a liſt of the moſt conſiderable of them, which is as follows.

1. BASILII *Magni liber de exercitatione grammatica.* 8vo, *ann*, 1515
2. AUSONII *ſophiſtæ præludia, & Hermogenis rhetorica*, 8vo, 1515
3. MUSÆUS, *Batrachomyomachia, Oppiani Halieutica*, 8vo, 1515
4. NOVEM *comœdiæ Ariſtophanis*, 8vo, 1515
5. APOLLON *de conſtructione*, 8vo, 1515
6. THEODOR. *Gazæ grammatices introductionis*, lib. 4, 8vo, 1515
7. DION. *Areopag. opera*, 8vo, 1516
8. XENOPHONTIS *opera*, fol, 1516
9. PLUTARCHI *vitæ parallelæ Græc*, &c. fol, 1517
10. PHILOSTRATI *icones & heroie*, &c. fol, 1517
11. ARISTIDIS *orationes*, fol, 1517
12. OPHOCLES *cum ſcholiis Græcis*, 8vo, 1518

13. HOMERI *opera.* 8vo. 1519

THIS is the laſt book which he printed; the next, *viz. Florilegium diverſorum epigrammatum*, &c. 8vo, being printed by his heirs.

I SHALL mention but one more Printing-houſe in *Italy*, viz. at the *Quirinal*-college at *Rome*, under the care of the famous *Angel Gallotius*, and protection of pope *Leo*, who was the founder of that college and Printing-houſe, and among other marks of his favour, gave them a privilege of ten years for all their impreſſions, ſome of which were extraordinary fine and correct, and revis'd by the learned *Conſtantine Laſcaris*, often mention'd in this book; of which number were the *Porphyri quæſtiones Homericæ & de nympharum antro*, &c. and a very antient *Latin* tranſlation of *Homer*, both printed in 1517. *Sophocles*'s Scholiaſt, 1518, and others of great value.

I SHALL now return to that famous bible of cardinal *Ximenes*, as I hinted before, commonly call'd the *Complutenſian* bible, which is the only conſiderable one publiſh'd, either in *Spain* or any other part of *Europe* before that time. It conſiſts of ſix large volumes in fol. the firſt of which contains the new teſtament in *Greek* and *Latin*, finiſh'd in 1517; the ſecond is a *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* vocabulary of all the old teſtament with ſome other diſſertations, finiſh'd *May* 31, 1515; the third is the *Pentateuch* in *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Chaldee*, with a *Latin* verſion of each; the fourth is a ſecond part of the old teſtament, and contains the books of *Joſhua*, *Judges* and *Ruth*, the two books of *Samuel*, of *Kings*, and of the *Chronicles*, with the prayer of *Manaſſeh*, in *Hebrew* and *Greek*, with their *Latin* verſion; the fifth is the third part of the old teſtament in *Hebrew* and *Greek*, with the *Latin* verſion, and contains the books of *Eſdras*, *Nehemiah*, *Heſter*, *Job*, the *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Canticles*, *Wiſdom of Solomon*, and *Eccleſiaſticus*, the Apocryphal part of *Heſter* only in *Greek*; the ſixth is the fourth and laſt part of the old teſtament in the ſame languages as the former, and contains the prophecies of *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, with the *Lamentations* at the end, *Baruch*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel* (with the hiſtory of *Suſannah*, and of *Bel* and the *Dragon*) *Hoſea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiah*, *Jonah*, *Michah*, *Nahum*, *Habakkuk*, *Zephaniah*, *Haggai*, *Zachariah*, *Malachi*, with the three books of the *Maccabees*; theſe four laſt volumes were finiſh'd *ann.* 1517, *July* the

the 10th; tho' Mr. *Mattaire* ſays, that the whole ſix volumes were not publiſh'd till the year 1520. Every page both of the old and new teſtament is divided into three columns: in the old, the firſt column contains the *Hebrew* text; the middle the vulgate *Latin*; and the third the *Greek* of the *Septuagint*: beſides the *Chaldee*, which is plac'd in the inner margin with the verſion of it oppoſite to it. The vulgate is printed with *Gothic* letter.

THE only objection againſt this work is, that the Printers made uſe of a ſort of falſe letter to fill up the ſpaces, whenever any of the verſions run to a greater length than the text; that there might be no line ſhorter than another, nor any blank ſpaces in the column. The new teſtament is in a very plain large character, without ligatures, abbreviations or accents; tho' that of the *Septuagint* is different; the reaſon of which they give in the preface, to the following purport; that ſince all the ancient *Greek* authors, whether ſacred or profane, were originally written without them, they were unwilling to introduce any thing into thoſe holy books, which it is certain was neither originally in them, nor of any uſe towards the underſtanding of them; but with reſpect to the *Septuagint*, which is but a tranſlation, they thought it unneceſſary to be too ſcrupulous about it.

THIS work was printed by *Arnold William de Brocario*, in the univerſity of *Alcala de Henares* in *Spain*, at the charges and under the direction of that learned prelate, whoſe merit in this reſpect can never be ſufficiently extoll'd. *Alphonſus Zamora* tells us, that he gave no leſs than four thouſand crowns of gold for ſeven *Hebrew* manuſcripts; and it would be difficult to determine the ſums, which the *Greek*, *Chaldee* and *Latin* manuſcripts coſt him. As for the learned men, whom he ſent for from all parts of *Europe* and *Aſia* to aſſiſt him in this undertaking, *Malincrot* tells us they were very numerous, of whom we ſhall mention ſome. Among the *Greeks* were *Demetrius Cretenſis*, *Antony Nebriſſenus*, *Lopes de Aſtuniga*, and *Terdianus Pintianus*, who were all profeſſors of the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and famous for their works. Of the *Hebrew* profeſſors were *Alphonſus Medicus*, a native of *Alcala*, *Paul Coronellus*, *Alphonſus Zamorali* and *John Vergera*, to the

laſt of whom was committed the tranſlation of ſeveral books, in which he reſtor'd a great number of texts, which were wholly unintelligible in the vulgate *Latin*. Theſe, with many of the moſt conſiderable men of the univerſity of *Alcala*, were engag'd by the Cardinal with very large ſalaries in this work, for the ſpace of 15 years, *viz.* from 1502 to 1517; ſoon after which he was prevented by death from executing ſeveral other glorious deſigns. A larger account of this work may be ſeen in *Malincrot*, p. 110. and Mr. *Mattaire*'s *Annals*, p. 124, *&c.*

WHILE I am upon the ſubject of Polyglots, I muſt not omit one great advantage which the art receiv'd from it, and which it hitherto wanted, *viz.* that of printing in columns, by which the text and verſion are ſo eaſily diſpos'd, that the reader may at one view ſatisfy himſelf in any ſcruple, that may ariſe either from a word wrong printed, or miſunderſtood in the one, by caſting his eye immediately on the other. This is particularly neceſſary in *Greek* works and their verſions; in which when there happens to be ſome fault of impreſſion, as 'tis almoſt impoſſible both text and verſion ſhould be faulty in the ſame word, the one may be eaſily corrected by the other. *Chevillier* gives us many remarkable inſtances of this, from pag. 240 to 243. I ſhall only mention one of them, in which the Printer or corrector makes *Ælian* call all the greateſt and nobleſt men of *Greece* errant lyars thro' every part of their lives [*omnes Græcorum clariſſimi præſtantiſſimique viri per totam vitam in extrema mendacitate verſati ſunt*] a reproach which neither the author nor tranſlator ever dream'd of fixing upon that nation. But upon a careful examination of the *Greek* text, the word appears to be πενία, and conſequently it ſhould have been printed *mendicitate*, i. e. *poverty*, inſtead of *mendacitate* [lying] which eſcap'd the corrector's obſervation.

THERE is another conveniency in this method, *viz.* that it obliges a tranſlator to be more conciſe, and to paraphraſe leſs, ſince the exorbitant length of his verſion would be viſible at firſt ſight. I have already taken notice of *Aldus*'s method of Printing the text in one page, and the verſion in the other; but he was not follow'd in it by any Printer that I know of: whereas as ſoon as they had taken the hint of theſe columns from the Polyglot pſalter and bible, it was immediately fol-

follow'd by moſt Printers; and the famous *Badius*, in his edition of *Angelus Politianus*'s works, *anno* 1519, printed all the epigrams and verſions after this manner. How plain ſoever the advantages of this method may ſeem, yet ſeveral men of learning have decry'd it; and particularly *Antony Muretus* and *Joſ. Scaliger* have complain'd, that this way of printing the *Greek* and the verſion in two columns had been the cauſe of the former being wholly neglected.

BESIDES books in two languages, the columns are very neceſſary in large folio's, and ſometimes in large quarto's, where the lines run to ſo great a length, that they puzzle the reader, who is apt to read the ſame line over again, or perhaps to ſkip the next, unleſs he conſtantly keep his finger moving from one to the other; which is eaſily remedied by dividing the pages into two columns. This method has obtain'd almoſt from the middle of the 15th century, and is entirely owing to that of printing the ſacred books in ſeveral languages and columns. This ſhall ſuffice concerning this work printed in *Spain*; in which I find but two Printers more of any note, *viz. John Peter Bonhomin* at *Lisbon*, *anno* 1514, where he printed a *Spaniſh* book, entitled *Ordinationes*, &c. fol. in *Gothic*; and *John de Porris* at *Salamanca*, perhaps a relation of *Peter Paul Porrus*, who printed the pſalter at *Genoa*, mention'd before.

I COME now to ſpeak of the French Printers, whoſe merit, tho' late, became at leaſt equal with that of *Italy*, or any other kingdom, in all reſpects. *Henry Meibomius*, a German hiſtorian, owns[1], *that the Art of Printing, which was invented at* Mentz *in* Germany, *and improv'd in* Italy, *was at laſt perfected in* France: which is ſufficiently evident from the impreſſions of *Henry Stephens*, in *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*, were there no other Printers to be produc'd in favour of that kingdom. But this country has given greater encouragement, or abounded more in excellent Printers, than that; and conſidering the care the univerſity of *Paris*, whoſe power and authority over Printers and bookſellers we have given an account of under the article of *Paris*, had continually over them, and the many ſignal marks of their favour, join'd to the genius of the nation, we ſhall not wonder at the perfection which they brought the

[1] — quod ſcribendi genus ut *Moguntiæ* in *Germania* inventum, ita apud *Italos* excultum, & in *Gallia* demum perfectum eſt. *Chronic. Riddagghuſenſ.* Tom. 3. p. 380.

art

art to, tho' ſomewhat later than their neighbours. For we may remember that *Badius*, one of the firſt who ſignaliz'd himſelf in this province, did not begin to print till almoſt the cloſe of the laſt century, nor come to *Paris* till the beginning of this. Hitherto, tho' the *Roman* character, and the elegant manner of printing introduc'd by the Italians, were here exactly imitated, and in ſome caſes excell'd; yet with reſpect to the learned languages, eſpecially the Eaſtern, they were much neglected throughout *France*; and tho' the noble *Greek* impreſſions of *Aldus*, had rais'd an univerſal deſire of reviving that tongue, yet the French were backward in introducing it, till they began to be contemn'd by the Italians, who were become every where maſters of it. The only pieces printed by them in that tongue till that time, were ſome quotations ſo wretchedly perform'd, that Mr. *Mattaire* tells us, they were rather to be gueſs'd at than read. The character was rude and uncooth, without accents, *&c.* for which *Badius* makes an apology, and deſires his readers to impute thoſe errors and omiſſions to the ſcarcity of types, and want of compoſitors who underſtood in that language. *Franc. Tiſſard*, a perſon compleatly ſkill'd in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and qualify'd for ſuch a taſk, reviv'd thoſe tongues, and prevail'd upon the Pariſian Printers to introduce them, having printed ſeveral books in thoſe languages: whereas before this the expence of importing them from *Venice* was ſo great, that it deterr'd many from the ſtudy of them. At firſt he addreſs'd a pathetic diſcourſe to the ſcholars of *Paris* upon that ſubject; in which he repreſents how contemptible their neighbours in *Italy* thought them; what epithets they gave their nation, ſuch as, barbarous, proud and ignorant, who pretended to give laws to *Italy*, the moſt learned and polite nation of the world, whilſt themſelves were not contented to deſpiſe the muſes at home, but muſt make excurſions over the *Alps*, to diſturb them in their belov'd abodes there. He exhorted them to retrieve the honour of their country, and to apply themſelves immediately to the ſtudy of thoſe languages; he promis'd them his own and other learned men's aſſiſtance; and tells them, that he had caus'd ſome *Greek* books to be printed, which, tho' cheap, would be great helps to them in that ſtudy. In ſhort, he laid before them ſuch powerful motives, and convincing arguments, that he at length rais'd a deſire in them of rivalling their neighbours for learn-

learning. His extraordinary merit ſoon procur'd him the eſteem and friendſhip of the great, who jointly aſſiſted this noble deſign; among whom was the duke *de Valois*, afterwards king of *France*, and ſufficiently known by the name of *Francis* I. the great patron of learning, who receiv'd him into his family and protection.

THE firſt *Greek* book which *Tiſſard* caus'd to be printed at *Paris*, was entitled Βίβλος ἡ γνωμαγυρίκη, containing the ſayings of the ſeven wiſe men of *Greece*, *Pythagoras*'s golden verſes, *Phocylides*'s ethic poem, and the verſes of the *Erithrean* ſybil upon the laſt day, with a *Greek* alphabet and ſome other inconſiderable pieces. It was printed in 4to, *anno* 1507, by *Giles Gourmont*, and dedicated to the prince *de Valois* and the archbiſhop of *Thouloufe*. This work was ſo well receiv'd, that he caus'd the ſame Printer to diſpatch three more books in that language the ſame year; *viz.* 1. *Homer*'s Βατραχομυομαχία, 4to, or *The battle of frogs and mice*. 2. *Heſiod*'s Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι, 4to. 3. Ἐροτήματα Χρυσολώρα or *Chryſolaras*'s *Greek* grammar, 4to. This laſt has a tetraſtich written by *Ch. Rouſeau*, to acquaint the world that *Francis Tiſſard* caus'd the firſt *Greek* editions to be printed at *Paris*; which *Tiſſard* himſelf took care to tranſmit to poſterity in ſome epiſtles prefix'd to the books above-mention'd. In theſe he likewiſe informs us of the difficulties which he met with in procuring Printers, who would engage in this new province; that they all alledg'd there was neither a ſufficient number of *Greek* matrices and characters in *Paris* for ſuch a work, nor any compoſitors that underſtood or could read that language; that the expence of ſetting up ſuch a Printing-houſe muſt be very great, as well as the danger of loſing both their labour and money[2]. Notwithſtanding this, *Tiſſard* ſtopp'd not here, but reſolv'd to bring the *Hebrew* into vogue; and to this end caus'd a font of *Hebrew* letters to be caſt, and the following year printed an *Hebrew* alphabet and

[1] Primus Parrhaſia Graiæ nova gloria linguæ
* Ambacus Argivum concinet urbe melos:
Quo duce morales Sophiæ amplexabere leges;
Hoc igitur ſtabili pectore fige memor.

* Tiſſard *was a native of* Amboiſe, *in Latin* Ambaca: *for which reaſon the poet calls him here* Ambacus.

[2] Cum incuſſorum ſibi hoc munus, hanc provinciam aſſumere vellet nemo nullus non id laboris ſubterfugeret — characteres præterea Græcos nobis hactenus defuiſſe vidi; ad eorum quoque aliquot ſcalpendos, & poſtmodum liquefaciendos, & denique ad eos impreſſioni aptandas tradendoſque, ut aiebant, ſumptibus —— opus eſſe: ad hæc ea non intelligere, ne legere quidem, ejuſque inſolentes fateri.

grammar

grammar with a *Greek* alphabet, and ſome hymns in *Greek* and *Latin* at the end; which book he dedicated to his great patron *Francis* prince *de Valois*. *Giles Gourmont*, who had printed his *Greek* works, likewiſe undertook the *Hebrew*. It is printed with his name; and tho' there is no date to it, yet it is plain it was publiſh'd in the year aforemention'd. However as he was the firſt who merited the title of *Greek* and *Hebrew* printer to the city and univerſity of *Paris*, and has publiſh'd ſeveral other *Greek* works after the year 1508, *viz.* the Idyls of *Theocritus*, ſome of *Lucian*'s works, a ſecond edition of *Chryſolaras*'s grammar in 1511, the *Gnomologia* and *Aldus*'s *Greek Lexicon* of 1497 much enlarg'd in 1512, the *Grammar* of *Theod. Gaza* in 1516, &c. I thought my ſelf oblig'd to do juſtice to his merit. He us'd to put his coat of arms at the beginning or end of his books, and ſometimes at both, with this French motto; *Toſt ou tard, pres ou loing, a le fort du foible beſoing*, i. e. *ſooner or later, far or near, the ſtrong ſtand in need of the weak*, with his name *Giles* or *Ægidius Gourmont*. His mark ſometimes was the three crowns of the Kings of *Cologn* with the 25th verſe of the 37th pſalm; *I have been young, and now am old*, &c. in *Hebrew* and *Greek*, under them. He liv'd overagainſt the college of *Cambray*, in the ſquare of that name; and his books are much valu'd by the lovers of antiquity, eſpecially at *Paris*. He continu'd printing till after the year 1527. As for the learned *Tiſſard*, as we find nothing printed by him, after his *Hebrew* grammar, he is ſuppos'd to have dy'd about that time.

HOWEVER, he did not want a ſucceſſor of equal merit to carry on this work; for *Jerom Aleander*, a perſon ſo well ſkill'd in *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*, as to ſpeak them with as much fluency as his own language, was ſent for by *Lewis* XII. from *Italy*, where he profeſs'd the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues with univerſal applauſe. His reputation was ſo great, that the elector *Palatine* ſent his own brother *Wolfgang de Bavaria* to be inſtructed by him, and the learned *Vatablus*, who had been formerly his ſcholar, was proud to aſſiſt him in ſome of his works, and take care of their correction, whenever *Aleander* was hinder'd by ſickneſs or avocations. As ſoon as he came to *Paris*, he employ'd *Gourmont*'s preſſes in printing thoſe *Greek* works which we mention'd juſt before in ſpeaking of that Printer. The King fail'd not of giving him

him immediate encouragement; for he ſettled on him a penſion of 500 crowns of gold, with many other marks of his favour; ſo that he was choſen principal of the college of the *Lumbards*, and, in 1512, rector of the unverſity, with general applauſe; tho' he had not yet taken his doctor's degree there. At laſt he was made library-keeper to the pope, a biſhop and nuncio, and then cardinal, by *Clement* VII. I ſhall only add, that he was one of *Aldus*'s learned academy; and that under his care the *Greek* and *Hebrew* tongues were ſo well ſettled in *France*, as to flouriſh there ever ſince.

But it muſt be own'd, that thoſe editions of *Gourmont* were very far from perfection, ſince the types were ill ſhap'd, the punches ill finiſh'd, and the matrices worſe ſunk; beſides which defects they had not caſt a ſufficient font of types, and were for that reaſon oblig'd ſometimes to ſtop till a form was work'd off and diſtributed, before they could go on. Another defect in thoſe types was, that the accents not being caſt to place between the letters as now, but by themſelves, and ſo compos'd in intermediate lines, as the *Hebrew* points are done at this time, they were often plac'd over the wrong letters, and frequently confounded one for another, thro' the unskilfulneſs of their compoſitors. *Tiſſard* complains of this more than once, but tells his readers, that they were taking all proper means to remedy thoſe defects; and hopes in time, that thoſe characters would be brought to as great a perfection there, as in *Italy*. And indeed we find that the ſucceſs of *Gourmont*'s impreſſions, under all theſe diſadvantages, excited other printers in that city, to procure better types, workmen, correctors, *&c.* (not to mention that beautiful font of ſmall *Greek* which king *Francis* I. caus'd to be caſt at his own charge) in which they ſucceeded to admiration, and ſoon publiſh'd much finer editions than thoſe of *Gourmont*. We ſhall only mention ſome of the moſt conſiderable, tho' they all came out later than 1520, except *Angelus Politianus*'s epigrams, printed by *Badius* in 1519, already ſpoken of in this chapter; and his edition of *Guillelmus Budæus*'s *Greek* epiſtles, 4to, in 1520. After this, *Peter Vidoue*, or *Vidæus*, maſter of arts, and an eminent printer, printed *Berault*'s *Greek* lexicon in fol. and *Or. Apollo*'s *Hieroglyphics*, 8vo, in *Greek* and *Latin*, in 1521 and 1523. *Gourmont* printed *Homer*'s firſt

and ſecond *Iliad*, 4to, with *Wolmar*'s ſhort notes; and the *Greek* lexicon of *Magnus Chæredamus*; and in 1527, *Gwinler*'s *Greek* ſyntax, 8vo. *Anno* 1528 *Simon Colinæus*, or *de Colines*, printed *Sophocles* tragedies, and in 1534, the new teſtament. Theſe, with a few inconſiderable ones more, were all that came out in *Greek* during the ſpace of 27 years, *viz.* from *Tiſſard*'s firſt impreſſion in 1507 to 1534; which I have mention'd here, tho' they run beyond our period, to ſhew how ſlow their firſt progreſs was, tho' their advances afterwards were prodigious. *Chevilier*, from whoſe liſt I have extracted the beſt part of theſe editions, has carry'd it on to the year 1560; and the reader will find, both in this piece and the remainder of it, ſeveral remarkable works omitted by *Mr. Mattaire* in his *Annals*, particularly the *Greek* lexicon and the new teſtament above nam'd. However as *Chevilier* tells us, that he ſaw them all in the *Sorbon* library, I thought proper to mention them.

THE reader perhaps will be ſurpriz'd to find nothing attempted by the Pariſians in the polyglot way, whilſt the Italians, Germans and Spaniards ſet them ſo fair an example. But, whatever be the reaſon of this neglect, 'tis certain, that if we except the *Pſalterium quincuplex* of *Mr. Faber*, or *Fabry*, printed in fol. 1509, by *Henry Stephens*, in *Hebrew*, *Latin* and *French*, with the *Pſalterium vetus & conciliatum*, in five columns, and reprinted by him in 1513, and again at *Caen* [*Cadomi*] in *Normandy*, by *Peter Olivier*, in 1515, I can find nothing of that kind during the greateſt part of this century. However, it muſt be acknowledg'd they have made the world ample amends in the next, in which *Antony Vitré* printed that noble work, known by the name of *Monſieur le Jay*'s polyglot bible in 1657; which being of too late a date, and ſo well known to the learned, I ſhall only ſay of it, that as far as relates to the Printing part, (for as to the author's merit with reſpect to learning, 'tis not my province to enquire into) it has not yet been equall'd by any work publiſh'd, in any nation, either for beauty of character or elegancy of diſpoſition, fineneſs of paper or richneſs of embelliſhment; in all which *Mr. le Jay*, who was at the charges of the impreſſion, ſpar'd neither coſt nor labour, in order to render it a maſter-piece of that kind. Here I muſt draw a veil over my own coun-

country, which is greatly injur'd, if it did not contribute to the ruin of the undertaker of this glorious work. An intimate friend at *Paris* ſent me word, that the ſheets of Mr. *le Jay*'s Polyglot was unfairly procur'd from the preſs at *Paris* before the work was publiſh'd, and, by the editor's of the Engliſh Polyglot, improv'd and publiſh'd ſo ſoon after, as to reduce Mr. *le Jay* almoſt to want; after his having expended above 5000 *l.* ſterling to compleat his work. But, as 'tis unpleaſant to relate, I ſhall proceed.

As for the other printers who flouriſh'd at *Paris* during this ſpace of 20 years, ſince my deſign is only to mention thoſe who were eminent for improvements, unattempted in the former century, I have but few to add to the preceeding. The firſt in rank and merit is *Henry Stephens*, the father of that numerous family of Printers, whoſe learning and impreſſions for near 200 years have been celebrated by much better pens, and particularly by *Mr. Bayle* and *Theod. Janſon* abroad, and by *Mr. Nichols*, *Collier*, but much more fully by the laborious and learned *Mr. Mattaire*, in his *Vitæ Stephanorum* and *Annales Typograph.* I ſhall therefore content my ſelf with giving a ſhort account of their great progenitor *Henry*, as far as relates to my preſent ſubject. He began to exerciſe the Art of Printing about 1502, in company with *Wolfgang Hopyl*, a noted *German* Printer at *Paris*, of whom we have given an account in the foregoing century. He had afterwards ſeveral other partners, *viz. John Petit*, *Dennis Roce*, *John de Brié* and *John Hongel*, all eminent Printers. We have already ſpoken of his *Polyglot Pſalter*, which, for ought I find, was the only piece he did in that way. As for the *Greek*, it was ſo little in vogue in his time, that he printed but little in it. He us'd two ſorts of characters for the *Latin*, viz. the *Gothic* and *Roman*, both good in their kind. It were ſuperfluous to tell the reader, that he was a man of great ſkill in the learned languages, and wrote ſeveral curious pieces in elegant *Latin*. He was extremely correct in his editions, ſo that their faults are ſo few, as ſcarce to deſerve an errata; yet he always readily acknowledg'd the ſmalleſt number of them, as appears from his edition of *Eraſmus*'s apology againſt *Latomus*, in which he confeſſes,

* *that*

* *that ſome faults eſcap'd him thro' neglect*; tho' the whole was but twenty. His chief correctors were *Peter Porta*, *Volgatius Pratenſis*, *John Solidus* of *Cracow* in *Poland*, and *Beatus Rhenanus*. As he was ſworn Printer of the city of *Paris*, inſtead of a mark or rebus, he us'd to put the arms of that univerſity to his impreſſions, which is the eſcutcheon of *France*, with a hand from the clouds holding a book. Several other printers of that city follow'd his example in this. He dy'd in 1520, leaving among other children three ſons, who became very eminent, *vid. Mattaire Vit. Steph.* the two firſt *Robert* and *Francis* in printing, and *Charles* in phyſick.

His ſucceſſor was *Simon de Colines*, or *Colinæus*, who marry'd his relict, and educated his two ſons before mention'd; and with them rais'd the reputation of his Printing-houſe higher, than their father could, whilſt the learned languages were in their infancy there. I ſhall only add, that *Robert* became ſo great a proficient under his father and father-in-law, that he was able to manage that great Printing-houſe at the age of 18; and that one of his editions of the new teſtament in 16º. *ann*, 1549, printed in a very fine *Greek* character, and very ſcarce, is affirm'd to be without a fault. This deſerves notice, becauſe there is another of his likewiſe in 16º, 1546, which has an errata at the end, and is frequently ſold for the other. I cannot but obſerve, that to this *Robert Stephens* we owe the invention of dividing the chapters of the bible into verſes, found out by him on a journey from *Paris* to *Lyons*, as we are inform'd by *Theod. Janſon de Vit. Stephanorum*, printed at *Amſterdam ann.* 1643, pag. 48; the great advantage of which is obvious to every perſon.

Before I diſmiſs the city of *Paris*, I cannot forbear mentioning a moſt curious and elaborate work, which tho' not printed till the year 1529, yet, both for its ſingularity and its having been begun many years before, ought by no means to be omitted, I mean the book entitled *Champ-Fleury*, written by the famous *Godfrey Tory*, printer and bookſeller of the city of *Bourges*, at the ſign of the broken pitcher, and printed by *Giles Gourmont* likewiſe, Printer and bookſeller at *Paris*, under the following title;

* Locis aliquot incuria noſtra aberratum eſt.

Cham-

CHAM-FLEURY, *auquel eſt contenu le Art & Science de la deue & vraye proportion des Lettres Attiques, qu'on dit autrement Lettres antiques & vulgairement Lettres Romaines, proportionees ſelon le corps & Viſage humain.*

THE author, who for his learning had been ſome time before choſen preſident of a college in *Burgundy*, and had tranſlated and publiſh'd ſeveral learned works out of *Greek* and *Latin*, ever ſince the year 1512, was afterwards admitted ſworn Printer and bookſeller to the king, and to the univerſity of *Paris*; but became moſt famous for the curious work abovemention'd; in which he endeavours to demonſtrate the due proportion of letters from thoſe of a human body and face, as appears by the title. As it would ſpin this chapter to too great a length, were I to give the reader a more particular account of this ſcarce and ſingular piece, I ſhall content my ſelf with referring him to Mr. *Mattaire*'s *Annales Typogr.* vol. II. part 2. from page 550 to 559, where he will find ſuch particularities both of the book and its author, as he will think worth reading, if he has any taſte in this way.

I HAVE already dwelt ſo long upon the ſubject of Polyglots, the moſt conſiderable improvement of the Art in this century; and upon the city of *Paris*, the moſt celebrated in *France* for productions of that kind; that I ſhall ſcarce have room to ſpeak of *Lyons*, *Rouen*, *Tholouſe*, *Caen*, &c. which have produc'd many excellent works, if not in the Polyglot way, yet in all branches of the Art. I ſhall confine my ſelf therefore to thoſe Printers who have cultivated the *Greek* or Oriental tongues, and refer the reſt to Mr. *Mattaire*'s *Annals*, where the reader may ſee their merit, and the liſt of their impreſſions.

THE city of *Lyons* has been always the next in rank to *Paris*, in every branch of Printing; and if we conſider that it receiv'd leſs encouragement from their princes and the learned, the latter chuſing to reſide at *Paris*, where there was a greater probability of advancement, we ſhall wonder that *Lyons* was ſo little inferior to *Paris*; and may remember, that it produc'd many valuable impreſſions during the laſt century. However, the reader muſt not expect any productions in *Greek*, much leſs in *Hebrew* and the Polyglot kind, during theſe 20 years, or long after, ſince he has ſeen the ſlow progreſs of thoſe languages at *Paris*; and with reſpect to the *Latin* and modern tongues, they are foreign to our preſent

ſent purpoſe. I ſhall therefore only ſay, that the *Lyons* Printers publiſh'd many editions of the claſſics, *&c.* law-books, and eſpecially *Latin* bibles, there being ſcarce a year paſt for a long time, in which they did not print two or three of them of different verſions, and ſome with very fine rubricks and other curious embelliſhments. The moſt remarkable Printers of them were *James Sacon*, or *Sachon*, who printed ſome works of the fathers, and one time two *Latin* bibles in one year; *James Mareſchall*, *John Moylin* and *Nicholas de Benedictis.*

THE city of *Rouen*, in *Latin Rothomagium*, and *Caen* follow next: but their productions for theſe twenty years, and after, are ſo inconſiderable, if we except a *Latin* bible in 4to, *anno* 1511, and the *Pſalterium quincuplex* of *Faber* aforemention'd, which was printed in the latter *anno* 1515, both by *Peter Olivier*, and a *Latin* bible in the former; that I ſhall inſiſt no longer upon them. With reſpect to the other cities of *France*, which receiv'd the Art either before or after the cloſe of the laſt century, their impreſſions are ſtill leſs conſiderable. I now paſs therefore to *Holland* and *Flanders*, where the reader will be ſurpriz'd to ſee the Art rather ſunk and loſt than improv'd. In the preceeding century we find ſeveral cities in *Holland*, as *Utrecht* 1473, *Delph* 1477, *Goude* 1479, *Harlem* 1485, and *Leyden* 1497, receiv'd and cultivated the Art; yet now we meet not with a ſingle edition done in any of them; nor find that any other city receiv'd it during thoſe twenty years. As for *Flanders* and *Brabant*, 'tis manifeſt they have been leſs negligent than the *Dutch*; for the city of *Antwerp* entertain'd one or two Printers, who publiſh'd three or four books during this ſpace; the moſt conſiderable of which was the new Teſtament in *Latin* and *Dutch*, in 4to, *anno* 1509; and the univerſity of *Louvain* had an eminent Printer, *Theodore Martin*, who, having printed at his own native town of *Aloſt* 'till the end of the 15th century, remov'd to *Antwerp*, where he publiſh'd ſome *Latin* editions, and at length came hither and continued printing till 1528, or perhaps longer. His impreſſions in this city are not indeed very remarkable for their bulk, beauty or number. I find but nine or ten, moſt of which are ſchool-books, either written or publiſh'd by *Eraſmus*; yet his moſt conſiderable work is the *Latin* teſtament in 8vo, *anno* 1519, if it was printed by him, as is probable, ſince we find

no

no other Printer here during this ſpace, tho' *F. le Long* mentions not the Printer's name.

As for the other cities, which receiv'd the Art before 1500, as *Bruges*, *Aloſt*, *Bruſſels*, *Gaunt*, *Boiſleduc*, &c. we find ſo profound a ſilence among the annaliſts and hiſtorians, as makes me ſuſpect that it either ceas'd entirely there, or that their produce was not worth preſerving, unleſs we ſuppoſe that they were loſt in the war, of which this country was the ſeat in thoſe times; which is evidently the caſe of other countries, eſpecially of thoſe upon the *Rhine*, *Switzerland*, &c. Some eminent authors have told us, that they purchas'd ſome of thoſe valuable pieces, which had been plunder'd by the ſoldiers, during the wars, out of the libraries of the monks and others. If this be fact, 'tis ſtrange that *Louvain*, which calls itſelf the *maiden city*, becauſe it was never taken by any foreign power, ſhould not have preſerv'd ſome more valuable impreſſions than thoſe of *Theod. Martin*, juſt mention'd. However, to do juſtice to the *Low Countries*, and *Holland* eſpecially, I muſt ſay, that how negligent ſoever they were at firſt in this reſpect, they have ſufficiently oblig'd the world ſince by their improvements to this Art; nor need I tell the reader how much they have excell'd the Engliſh in the goodneſs of their paper, beauty and variety of characters, and in elegance and correctneſs of compoſition; in ſhort, how they have equall'd any nation of *Europe* in every branch of Printing ſince. In the ſecond volume we ſhall ſhew what improvements they have made to the mechanic part of it, and in particular to the Printing-preſs, chaſes, *&c.* the former of which is ſo compleat, as ſcarce to admit a greater degree of perfection.

Here I cannot but obſerve the ſtrange viciſſitudes that have attended this Art ſince its firſt invention. We have ſeen how diligent the Italian nation has been in improving it, what quick progreſs they made in it, and to what a degree of perfection they brought it even before the cloſe of the 15th century; whereas ſcarce any nation in *Europe* has neglected it more within theſe hundred years, having ſuffer'd their elegant Roman and Italick to degenerate, and are become very careleſs in their compoſitions, ornaments, *&c.* ſo that they are almoſt inferior to any country in all the branches of Printing. The French, on the contrary, who did not introduce the fine *Venetian Roman*, *Italick*, and *Greek* 'till late in the

16th

16th century, have been allow'd the beſt Printers, 'till *Elzevir* aroſe; ſince which time the Dutch, who were by far the lateſt of any nation in *Europe* in bringing it to the perfection which their neighbours had, have been lately ſuperior to all. I ſhall ſay but little of *England*, where every reader is already ſenſible what rank our Printers here deſerve with reſpect to other countries; but 'tis with the utmoſt regret that I obſerve our nation, which took ſo much pains to have the Art brought over in its earlieſt days, and cultivated it with ſo much application, ſhould have been ſo far excell'd by the French and Dutch Printers, and even by thoſe of our own nation, who liv'd a century and a half ago. But were the reader conſcious of the diſadvantages we labour under, and the ſmall Profit we reap from our labour, he would rather be apt to wonder that any of us have been able to keep it up to that degree of perfection it is ſtill in. I could eaſily make it appear from whence theſe difficulties ariſe. This complaint, which is far from being new, the *Latin* reader will find elegantly expreſs'd above 150 years ago by *Cornelius Kelian*, one of the great *Plantine*'s correctors, in an epigram of ſixteen verſes, which I have ſubjoin'd at the bottom of the page[1]. However, this I may modeſtly ſay for our ſelves, that, whenever we have met with ſufficient encouragement, we have demonſtrated our capacity by printing as beautiful and correct impreſſions as any of our neighbours.

But to return from this digreſſion, which I hope will merit the reader's pardon, I ſhall now mention ſome cities in other kingdoms, which receiv'd the Art after the 15th century, and conclude this chapter with ſome remarks on the ſucceſs of it in other parts of the world.

Hitherto we have not ſeen that any Printer ventur'd farther North than the empire of *Germany*. As for the kingdoms of *Poland*, *Sweden*,

[1] *Typographus Mercenarius.*

Arte mea varias excudo Typographus artes;
Ars tamen hæc tenues artifici addit opes,
Rite characteres ad juſtam redigo normam,
Conſtet ut ex æquis pagina verſiculis.
Inciſas nigra fuligine tingo figuras;
Calloſa prelum volvo trahoque manu.
Ecce iterum heſternus mihi adeſt labor actus in orbem;
Quas ſtruxi formas deſtruo, & inde ſtruo.
Diruo & ædifico; vigilatus tranſigo noctes;
Sollicitum cruciat cura, premitque labor.
Verum quid proſunt curæ durique labores,
Cum miſero pateat ſemita nulla lucri?
Noſter alit ſudor numatos & locupletes,
Qui noſtras redimunt, quique locant operas.
Noſter alit ſudor te, Bipliopola, tuique
Conſimiles, quibus eſt vile laboris opus.

Denmark,

Denmark, &c. they imported books from *Germany* and other countries, and tranſmitted any works thither, which they wanted to have printed. I can find no city in thoſe parts, except *Cracow*, the metropolis of *Poland*, that receiv'd it ſo ſoon as 1520; and even in this we have but one inconſiderable impreſſion done in 1518, *viz.* a diary of *Sigiſmund*, the king of *Poland*'s nuptials, printed by one *Jerom Victor*, in 4to. I ſhall therefore paſs over to *Turky*; were we find ſome of the diſpers'd *Jews* of *Soncino*, and particularly Rabbi *Gerſon*, who, as we gave an account under the article of that place, brought the art to *Conſtantinople*; whilſt others ſettled at *Theſſalonica* and other parts, of which we have but a ſmall account, and carry'd on the buſineſs of printing with good ſucceſs. But it muſt not be ſuppos'd that the *Turks* invited them or any other Printers thither, much leſs that they gave them any other encouragement than a large toleration. On the contrary, we have ſhewn in a former chapter, how Sultan *Bajazet* II. publiſh'd an edict in 1483, againſt the uſe of printed books under pain of death; which edict was afterwards confirm'd by *Selim* I. his ſon. The encouragement therefore which they receiv'd was from the *Chriſtians* and *Jews*; the latter undoubtedly were pleas'd to have their own books at a more moderate rate, than when they were only tranſcrib'd; and the former, being willing not only to have the old Teſtament printed by them more correct than the editions of *Chriſtian* Printers, but likewiſe to have it diſpers'd among the *Turks*, *Indians*, &c. who were wholly ignorant of thoſe important truths contain'd in it, ſpar'd no coſt to purchaſe them. Beſides this, their *Targums*, *Talmud*, and other *Rabbinical* learning were brought up by the *Chriſtians* to furniſh themſelves with what arguments they cou'd, againſt that poor infatuated people, out of their own books. And perhaps this might be the main motive which induc'd thoſe two Sultans to publiſh ſo ſevere an edict againſt printing any books in the *Turkiſh* language, ſince the averſion of that nation to almoſt every branch of learning, and eſpecially the religious, is ſufficiently known.

I FIND however but three editions of the ſacred books printed in that emperor's territories, during theſe twenty years, *viz.* at *Conſtantinople*.

1. THE book of *Tobit* in *Hebrew*, without points, in 4to, in 1517.

2. THE book of *Eſther* in *Hebrew*, with the commentary of Rab. *Iſaac Armah*, 4to, 1518.

And at *Theſſalonica*.

THE book of *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, *Job* and *Daniel* in *Hebrew*, with the commentary of R. *Raſi*, in fol. in 1500. Beſides theſe three editions, which are all that Mr. *Mattaire* has given us out of father *Le Long*'s *Bibliothec. ſacr. Chevilier*, pag. 266, mentions ſome others which I ſhall here ſubjoin, *viz.*

1. ONE at *Conſtantinople* in 1506. *Chevilier* does not tell us what it is.

2. *Jad Khaſakkah*, fol. *ibid.* 1509.

3. *Joſippus Ben Gorion*, fol. 1510.

THE two laſt M. *Simon* tells us, he made uſe of in his *critical* hiſtory of the Old Teſtament.

4. *Bereſcith Rabbah*, of Rab. *Bar. Nachman*, fol. *Conſtantinople* 1512. THIS book is now in the *Sorbon* library.

THO' theſe be all that we can yet find to have been printed in *Turky* from 1500 to 1620; yet I cannot perſuade myſelf, that they were all which the *Jews* printed there, but am apt to believe, that they were bought up by the eaſtern *Chriſtians*, *Jews*, &c. and carried to the remote parts of *Aſia* and *Africa*; whilſt the *Jews* of *Soncino* and others were grown ſo numerous as to ſupply thoſe countries with works of that kind. However that be, I do not find that this art made any further progreſs in theſe parts of the world during this ſpace, or at leaſt that thoſe authors, who have repreſented its advances greater, have been much depended on by thoſe that wrote after them; and therefore I think myſelf obliged to ſtop here.

I HAVE already tranſgreſs'd my propos'd limits, as often as the life of any eminent Printer has extended beyond them, or any material occurrence happen'd worthy of the reader's notice. Agreeable to which liberty, I ſhall now cloſe this chapter with ſome remarks on the ſucceſs which attended the art, tho' at ſome diſtance of time from the year 1520. Firſt 'tis obſervable, that it has extended itſelf to *Africa* and *America*; not indeed at the invitation of the natives, eſpecially of

America,

America, but by means of the *Europeans*, and particularly of the *Spaniſh* miſſionaries; who carry'd it to the latter for their ends, where it has throve, tho' not flouriſh'd ever ſince. The *Romiſh* ſociety *de propagando fide*, gives us an account of printing-houſes being ſet up in the cities of *Goa*, *Rachol*, in the country of *Salſetta*, *Manella*, the metropolis of the *Philippine* iſlands, *&c.* in the firſt of which were printed the two following works, *viz. Doctrina Chriſtiana lingua Malabarica Tamul et litteris Malabaris in collegio Goano*, 1577. This edition was in *Scaliger*'s poſſeſſion, and is now among thoſe which he bequeath'd to the univerſity of *Leyden*. The other is part of *Confucius*'s works printed likewiſe at *Goa* in 1569; a copy of which is now in the emperor's library at *Vienna*. We find alſo ſome printing-houſes ſet up about this time in the city of *Lima*, capital of the empire of *Peru*, and in ſeveral cities of the kingdom of *Mexico*. I ſhall only add, that our honourable ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel in foreign parts, having heard of the good ſucceſs, which Mr. *Zidgenbalgh* and Mr. *Grundler*, two *Daniſh* miſſionaries, ſent to the coaſt of *Tanquebar* by his *Daniſh* majeſty, had in converting a great number of the natives of that country to the chriſtian faith, were pleas'd to ſend them the whole apparatus of a printing-houſe, with proper workmen and large quantities of paper, which they thankfully receiv'd, and immediately ſet to work, having ſince printed a fine quarto New Teſtament, prayer-books, catechiſms, *&c.* in *Portugueſe* and ſeveral eaſtern languages and characters, for the promoting of their pious deſign.

To return again to *Europe*, the Printers, who firſt introduc'd the art into *Muſcovy* about 1560, were leſs ſucceſsful. That nation was too little friendly to learning to give it any encourgement; and even ſuffer'd both the printing-houſe and its whole apparatus to be burn'd and deſtroy'd, without ever enquiring after the authors of the miſchief. The famous *Thevet*, hiſtoriographer to *Henry* III. of *France*, and a great traveller, gives us the following account of it: , As for the Art of , Printing, they (the *Muſcovites*) had not the uſe of it till 1560; when , it was diſcover'd to them by a *Ruſſian* merchant, who bought a num- , ber of types, *&c.* with which many neat editions were printed. Ne- , verthelefs, as they are a very ſuperſtitious nation, and apt to raiſe ſcru-

, ples without any foundation, in which they imitate their followers of , the *Greek* church; ſome of them hir'd ſeveral fellows privately to burn , all their characters, apprehending that printing might make ſome , change or confuſion in their religion. And yet not the leaſt enquiry , or proſecution was made after this, either by the prince or his Subjects'. But ſince that time they have admitted it into their metropolis of *Moſcow*, and elſewhere in the laſt century, tho' they print but little, and ſell at exceſſive rates.

I HAVE already hinted, that the emperor of *Ethiopia*, and monarch of thoſe chriſtians, that are commonly known by the name of *Abyſſines*, who is falſly call'd by ſome writers *Preſter John*, wrote a letter in 1521, to Don *Manuel*, king of *Portugal*, and another in 1524 to his ſucceſſor *John* III. (which letters are to be ſeen in the *Hiſpania illuſtrata*, tranſlated by *Paul Jovius*, tom. 2. p. 1293, 1297,) in which he deſires thoſe princes to ſend him ſome of the moſt curious artificers of *Europe*; and in the latter he ſays thus: , I entreat you, my lord and brother, to , ſend me ſome workmen to carve images, to caſt books, make ſwords , and all ſorts of weapons; likewiſe maſons, carpenters, phyſicians, ſur- , geons, apothecaries, coiners of gold and ſilver, and perſons who un- , derſtand how to extract gold, ſilver, and copper out of the mines, to , cover houſes with lead, to make ſhields and muskets; and in ſhort, , all ſorts of neceſſary workmen'. What ſucceſs theſe letters had, and whether king *John* anſwer'd his requeſt in any of theſe particulars, I cannot determine. But the ſecond tome of the *Abyſſine* hiſtory by *Job Ludolph*, or rather the commentator upon it, informs us, that when *Abba Gregory Abyſſin* ſaw the library of father *Alphonſo Mendez* a jeſuit, whom the pope had ſent into *Ethiopia* in quality of patriarch, in 1623, he could not forbear extolling that art, which had produc'd ſo many books, and *eſteeming it as a ſacred invention, worthy to be plac'd among the regalia of the greateſt princes* (*). By this it ſeems, that printing had been wholly unknown to them at that time; and conſequently that it was never ſent thither by the king of *Portugal* or any other. However, our knowledge is very imperfect of thoſe remote parts of *Africa*; and

* Exiſtimaſſe Typographiam, ſeu ſacrum quoddam inventum, inter Regalia principum haberi. Vide *Chevil.* p. 274.

even

even of thoſe which are nearer, as *Morocco*, *Fez*, &c. we can only ſay, that 'tis certain they receiv'd the art early from their neighbours, the *Spaniards* or *Portugueſe*, and encourag'd it for a conſiderable time; yet whatever be the reaſon, ſcarce any footſteps of it now remain, if we believe Mr. *S. Olon* the *French* king's embaſſador to the king of *Morocco*; who, in his preſent ſtate of that empire, printed in 1694, aſſures us, that there is ſcarce one printing-houſe left in it. He adds, that it is a piece of religion among them not to ſuffer any corn, horſes or books to be exported; and that their fondneſs for books is the greater, by reaſon of their ſcarcity, ſince there is hardly a preſs in the whole empire.

We read of ſome attempts made by the miſſionaries in *Perſia* to introduce printing there; which prov'd ineffectual. I ſhall ſay nothing here of the kingdoms of *China* and *Japan*, nor of their manner of printing, having already ſpoken of it upon another account in the firſt book of this hiſtory.

CHAP VIII.

Of the Abuſes of the Art *of* Printing.

IT would have been very wonderful, if the encouragement, which that art receiv'd from the great and learned, ſhould not have induc'd at the ſame time ſome perſons, whoſe ignorance and avarice would not permit them to aim at that degree of perfection; which they ſaw others arrive at, to engage in baſe methods of enjoying the fruit of their ingenuity and diligence, without the trouble of imitating them in it. We have already given occaſionally ſome accounts of theſe practices, in counterfeiting the works, names and marks of the beſt Printers, who have been oblig'd to remonſtrate againſt them to the world. For as ſoon as they had publiſh'd a curious and correct edition, with prodigious charge and labour, ſome of theſe pyrates immediately printed another after it, tho' in every reſpect inferior to the former; and either by underſelling, defrauded them of the reward of their care and expence, or by counterfeiting their names and marks, deſtroy'd their reputation.

By

By theſe abuſes, they were oblig'd to make many fruitleſs attempts in order to ſuppreſs theſe counterfeits, and at laſt to have recourſe to the higher powers for priviledges and patents, the only effectual way to prevent ſuch practices. We have likewiſe hinted, that ſome of theſe peſts of learning have impos'd upon the world, by ſelling their impreſſions as done at *Venice* or ſome other famous place, or pretending they were printed *characteribus Venetianis*, with *Venetian* characters, *&c.* tho' they were the production of ſome obſcure place and printer, whoſe only aim was profit.

ANOTHER abuſe conſequent upon this, was the counterfeiting of dates. For when, by the care of a *Froben*, a *Badius*, or ſome other eminent Printer, the world was ſo far appriz'd of theſe counterfeits, that the authors of them could not vend their impreſſions, they immediately reprinted the title page, perhaps with ſome alteration, put a new date, and ſometimes a new name to it, and ſo paſs'd them off for new editions. To recommend them the more to the buyers, they generally aſſerted them to be newly revis'd, diligently compared with the beſt MSS. corrected in above 500 places, and the like. It was with great difficulty that theſe abuſes were detected in ſuch a manner as to make the world aware of them. The complaints of the learned, and their vain efforts to remedy ſuch inconveniences are too well known to be mention'd here. I ſhall paſs to another equally ſhameful and dangerous abuſe, *viz.* printing of leud, infamous books, of which the learned *Gerſon*, among many others, complains with great zeal; and mentions particularly a romance, intitled the *Romance of the Roſe*, compos'd in 1300, of which he ſaid, that if he was the maſter of the laſt copy, he would rather chooſe to burn it than part with it at any price *. *Paſtor fido*, is a poem almoſt univerſally known, which, we are told by *J. Nicius Erith*, caus'd many virgins and marry'd women to proſtitute their honour. Yet great numbers of a much more pernicious nature have been publiſh'd in thoſe times. I ſhall only mention one, which I eſteem a maſter-piece in that kind, heighten'd by the art of engraving, that it might be a conſummate piece of the moſt ſcandalous lewdneſs in nature. *George Vaſari*, in the lives

* Si eſſet mihi Liber Romancii de Roſa, qui eſſet unicus, & valeret mille pecuniarum libras, comburerem potius quam venderem.

of

of the *Italian* painters, gives us this ſhort account of it; that *Julius Romanus*, the moſt celebrated painter of his age, invented above fourſcore deſigns, which he caus'd to be engraven on wood, while *Peter Aretine*, a great Libertine and Atheiſt, compos'd a ſonnet for each of the prints. This vile performance was publiſhed about the year 1525. I ſhall conlude with *Vaſari*'s character of it, * *that he knew not which was moſt brutiſh and ſhocking, the deſign of* Julius *to the eye, or the verſes of* Aretine *to the ear.* This ſame avarice which prompted Printers to undertake ſuch infamous works, as the foregoing, induc'd them to abuſe their art in another reſpect, *viz.* in printing ſcandalous and defamatory libels, to the ſhame of their profeſſion, and the regret of the virtuous. As printing and the reformation begun about the ſame time, the former was proſtituted by the meaner ſort, who printed the vileſt forgeries on each, tho' that which was uppermoſt, acted moſt flagrantly, when the other was oblig'd to work covertly. But as this and the laſt do not ſo properly fall within my province as a Printer, I ſhall content myſelf with having juſt mention'd them, with abhorrence of ſuch practices, and return to ſome other abuſes.

THE next aroſe from want of good correctors; for perſons of that claſs were thought too chargeable by many Printers; who therefore made uſe of illiterate fellows, whom they could hire much cheaper; or, which often happen'd, us'd none at all. It will eaſily be imagin'd, what a number of wretched editions the world muſt have been peſter'd with by this ſordid neglect. However, as books were not yet ſo plentifully propagated, as to ſuffice the number of ſtudents, there wanted not perſons either dull or poor enough to purchaſe them, eſpecially upon a ſmall abatement of the common price. This made ſome Printers deſignedly ſuppreſs the errata, which would have inevitably endanger'd the ſale of ſuch books; tho' others were oblig'd by the authors or editors to print them at the end of their works. The reader will no doubt be ſurpriz'd to hear of ſome of them ſo prodigiouſly large, as to be ſcarce credible. We have a remarkable inſtance in the works of *John Francis Picus de Mirandula*, printed at *Strasburgh* for the firſt time in 1507, by *John Knob-*

* Io non ſo qual fuſſe piu o brutto le ſpettacolo de i deſegni di Giulo all' occhio, o le parole dell' Aretino a gl' orechi. *Vite del Pittori*, part 3. p. 302.

louch,

louch, a man of ſome note, and at the charges of *Matthias Schurrer*, another eminent Printer of that place, who ſtyl'd himſelf maſter of arts. This edition was ſo faulty, that the author was oblig'd to make an errata of fifteen pages in filio, tho' the book was but a thin ſmall folio. Were I to treſpaſs the bounds of this period, I could mention ſome which amounted to fourſcore and eight pages, even in *Venice* itſelf, where *Bellarmin*, who had been very unſucceſsful in the former impreſſions of his polemick works, ſent them in order to have them more correctly printed; tho' quite the reverſe happen'd. *Rome*, *Paris*, *Lyons*, &c. have been no leſs complain'd of upon this account. The learned *Mich. Fernus*, who with prodigious labour had collected, and revis'd the works of biſhop *Campanus*, was ſo provok'd to ſee them ſo incorrect, that he put an errata in the edition of *Rome*, with this ſurprizing title at the head *; , If you have a mind to ſhow yourſelf compleatly fooliſh , and mad, print your books at *Rome* firſt, *&c.* *Gaguinus* was not leſs diſpleas'd to ſee his *hiſtory of France* printed at *Paris* with ſuch a vaſt number of faults, that he thought it impoſſible to add an errata to it. He therefore ſent it to *Lyons* to be reprinted, and tells the biſhop of *Maſcon*, to whom he intruſted the reviſing of it, that he wiſh'd he could get all the 500 copies of the firſt, in order to burn them. The like complaints againſt the Printers, he repeats in another edition at *Paris* in 1497, and wiſhes theſe incorrect and mutilated editions could be condemn'd to perpetual oblivion. *Galatinus*'s book *De Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis*, Printed at *Ortona*, by *Jerom Soncino* in 1518, was ſo wretchedly maim'd by the Printer, that the author inveigh'd vehemently againſt all Printers in general, accuſing them, in his 12th book of *adulterating and corrupting the beſt copies, tho' ever ſo accurately written, in ſuch a manner, that it is impoſſible to mend them.* But the Printers ſufficiently reveng'd themſelves on him, by reprinting, tho' long after his death, the *Pugio Fidei*, written by *Raymund Martin*, a *Dominican* fryer in 1280 againſt the *Jews*; in which edition they unjuſtly accuſe *Galatinus* of having taken the beſt part of his book out of this; tho' *Galatinus* does ingeniouſly own in his preface, that he had taken the greateſt part of his book

* Vix ex ſtulto demens, idemque ex demente inſanus fieri? Libros Romae primus imprime. Corruptorum recognitio.

out

out of it. *Paul Middleburgh*, a learned Dutchman of the univerſity of *Louvain*, and afterwards biſhop of *Foſembrona* in *Italy*, having wrote a Treatiſe about keeping Eaſter, which he call'd *Paulina*, gave it to a Printer of his own metropolis, nam'd *Octaviano Petrucio*, to be printed; but he committed it to the care of an *Ethiopian* youth, wholly ignorant of the buſineſs, and who probably made his firſt tryal upon it; ſo that, in ſpite of all the accuracy of *Poſthumius* who corrected it, it was ſo maim'd and incorect, that the author was oblig'd to complain publickly againſt ſuch ignorant and careleſs Printers; who (ſays he) in the preface to the errata of that very book, invert the letters, change and tranſpoſe whole ſyllables from the end of one word to the beginning of another, and put one word in the text inſtead of another: he might have added, that they have ſometimes omitted not only words and lines, but whole paragraphs and chapters, or elſe miſplac'd them extremely. We have in the laſt chapter given an account of *Rob. Stephens*, who was certainly an excellent Printer; and yet, however it happen'd, M. *Le Clerc* tells us, *Bibl. An. & Mod. pag.* 415, that he has an edition of the bible in 8vo, printed by him in a ſmall character, containing the vulgate, and the verſion of *Leo Juda*, with *Vatablus*'s notes, in which there is a chaſm of one whole ſheet, tho' the figures of the pages follow each other exactly; ſo that there wants from part of the 2 to half of the 11th chapter of the prophet *Zachary*. If ſo great a man could over look ſo important a miſtake, what could be expected from thoſe who valued neither their own reputation, nor that of their authors, being actuated only by the views of gain. His ſon *Henry Stephens* afterwards wrote a poem of about 150 *Latin* verſes, entitled * *A complaint of the Art of Printing againſt ſome ignorant Printers, upon whoſe account it is fallen into contempt.* At the end of this, are ſome *Latin* and *Greek* epitaphs, in honour of the moſt learned Printers till that time. In this complaint he tells us, that the corruption of ſo many editions was entirely owing to the groſs ignorance of the Printers, ſome of whom he knew, that could not tell the letters of their names †. The reader would in all probability

* Querimonia Artis Typographicæ de illiteratis quibuſdam Typographis propter quos in contemptum venit.

† Proh pudor! haud rarus numero reperitur in illo, nominis ignorans prima elementa ſui.

be tir'd, if I ſhould mention the tenth part of the complaints which we meet with in the writings of the greateſt men of that time, againſt the avarice, ignorance and negligence of the Printers; ſome of which are ſo ſharp as to call them *beaſts and drunkards, the offspring of wild centaurs and of* Vulcan's *untam'd* Cyclops; but I ſhall chooſe to give ſome more diverting inſtances of their own, and their corrector's ignorance and neglect.

John Chapius tells us of a change and tranſpoſition of words, which render'd the ſenſe wholly unintelligible, in his *Sext. Decret.* printed at *Paris* in 1510; where under the title *De dolo et contumacia*, he found theſe words; *Et nuntio ella cum creditur ex de appiurato parati*; inſtead of, *Et nuncio jurato creditur ex De Apella cum parati. Henry Stephens*, in his preface to his *Querimonia* juſt mentioned, tells us of an ignorant corrector whom he knew, who, wherever he met with the word *procos*, us'd to correct it *porcos*, and change the word *exanimare*, into *examinare.* He mentions others, who alter'd a word they underſtood not, for one more common and known; thus in the ſecond epiſtle of the firſt book, *Horace* ſays, *Nunc adbibe pucro pectore verba, puer*; but the word *adbibe* not being underſtood by them, they ſubſtituted that of *adhibe*, which was more obvious to them; yet even this abſurd correction, is ſtill retain'd in ſome more modern editions. To this, I believe, we owe another correction in the ſame poet, where they have chang'd *ſectis unguibus*, into *ſtrictis unguibus*; whereas, *Horace* only meant the kind fair ones par'd their nails cloſe, when they encounter'd with the youths, leaſt the ſcratches which decency and formality oblig'd them to give them when they play'd too rudely, ſhould enter deep enough to hurt them. *Chevilier* ſpeaks of a book printed by *Guido Mercator* at *Paris*, in 1493, in which there is a flagrant error in the very frontiſpiece, for the title is *Elegantiarum viginta præcepta.* It may be objected, that this was an overſight; but the contrary is plain, ſince it is printed ſo in the next leaf, and at the end of the book, *Expliciunt elegantiarum viginta præcepta Pariſiis per Guidonem*, &c. ſo that it evidently aroſe from their ignorance of the *Latin* tongue. Nor is this to be wonder'd at, when *Eraſmus* tells us, in his preface to the 4th edition of his *Adages* in 1525, that ſome of the Printers of *Rome*,

Venice

Venice and *Germany*, ſcarce knew how to read. This ſame author likewiſe wrote 10 or 11 years before this to his friend *Schurrer*, a Printer of *Strasburgh*. *John de Savigny* had been ſo ill us'd by theſe drunken and ignorant Printers, as he ſtyles them, in a work of the learned biſhop of *Gaieta*, which he publiſh'd in 1520, that he took the moſt effectual way to make them trumpeters of their own ignorance, by couching his reproaches in ſuch terms in *Greek* and *Latin*, as were not underſtood by either Printer or correctors. His words are theſe: *In iſtos haud abſtemios* οἰνοφλύγας ἀμυσθέτε βιβλιογράφους *a Clitorio fonte longe remotiſſimos cudatur faba.* Let the blame be laid upon thoſe drunken and illiterate Printers, who are equally remote from learning and politeneſs. We ſhall conclude this ſubject with one inſtance more. After the biſhop of *Aleria* had publiſh'd his edition of *Pliny*'s natural hiſtory, in the dedication of which he tells the pope, *that he had ſpent nine whole years in correcting it, tho' he believ'd nine more would ſcarce ſuffice to make a perfect edition*, *Hermolaus Barbarus* corrected almoſt five thouſand faults in it. Several other learned men engag'd in the ſame province, and in particular *John Cæſareus* corrected about four thouſand faults in his edition printed at *Cologn*, by *Eucharius Cervicornus*, a famous Printer of that city, in 1524, as he acquaints us in the preface. But the compoſer and corrector ſuffer'd a prodigious blunder to go uncorrected in the frontiſpiece of that book, wherein the reader is told, that this new edition is corrected in no leſs than four hundred thouſand places *. 'Tis ſurpriſing, that a book ſhould be corrected in ſo many places ſince the laſt edition of it; but when the reader comes to the preface, he finds but four thouſand, and the Printer put *quadringentis millibus*, inſtead of *quatuor millibus*.

When it was found, that neither the remonſtrances of the learned, nor their ſarcaſms continually printed againſt ſuch Printers, could prevail upon them to be more diligent, and procure better correctors; ſeveral countries took methods of putting a ſtop to this growing evil. *Spain* was, I think, the firſt which ſhew'd the example, by a way to

* ——— opus hoc locis non pauciori-bus quam quadringentis millibus emacula-tius atque olim, nunc demum in lucem prodire.

make the compoſer and corrector more careful in their reſpective provinces. It was order'd, that before a book could be ſold, it ſhould be examin'd by cenſors appointed for that purpoſe, and compar'd with the manuſcript; and that all the faults of the impreſſion ſhould be ſet down in the firſt leaſt; after which they were to write underneath, that the book, the faults of the impreſſion above noted excepted, was faithfully printed. This certificate had generally the following title in *Spaniſh*. *Eſta eſte libro bien impreſſo y correcto conforme a ſu original de mano. En Madrid*, &c. ſign'd N. N. It was ſometimes printed in *Latin*. Where they could not obtain ſuch an order, they follow'd the *Spaniſh* method as far as they could. Thus *Jo. Raviſius Textor*, profeſſor of rhetorick at *Paris*, made a kind of affidavit, that he had corrected all the errata of the dialogue of *Henry Hutten*, intitled *Aula*, printed at *Paris* in 1519, by *Antony Auſſurd*, who put under the title-page. *Textor emaculavit*. The ſame method was follow'd by *Henry Stephens*, who in his edition of the *Pimander* of *Hermes Triſmegiſtus*, printed in 1505, publiſh'd by *James Fabry d'Eſtaples*, has ſet down the names of the correctors in theſe words; *Pariſiis ex officinâ Henrici Stephani, recognitoribus mendaſque ex officinâ eluentibus Jacobo ſolido Cracovienſi & Volgatio Pratenſi, anno* 1505. We could trace this method as far as the beginning of the 15th century; which had this good effect, that thoſe books, in which the correctors had put their names, were always preferr'd to thoſe where no mention was made of any. There were afterwards better regulations obtain'd from the higher powers in every kingdom, in order to aboliſh theſe pernicious abuſes; but as they do not come within our epoch, we ſhall forbear mentioning them.

THE reader will excuſe me, if I ſo far digreſs from my ſubject, as to give an inſtance or two of the dangerous conſequences, which had like to have happen'd to two eminent writers of that age, to the one by the addition, and to the other by the ſubſtraction of a ſingle letter. The firſt is of *Eraſmus*, who in his paraphraſe on ch. 16, v. of S. *Matthew*, where S. *Peter* ſays, *Tu es Chriſtus Filius Dei vivi*, had written, *Non ſuſpicione proferens, ſed certa & indubitata ſcientia profitens, illum eſſe Meſſiam a prophetis promiſſum, ſingulari more Filium Dei*, &c. by which laſt words he only meant, as he afterwards explain'd it, that Chriſt

Chriſt was the ſon of God after a particular manner, different from that which was common to men. But it happen'd, that in his *Baſil* edition printed by *Froben*, the letter *a* being added to *more*, made it have a quite different ſenſe. Hereupon *Noel Beda*, a famous divine of *Paris*, and enemy to *Eraſmus*, fail'd not to take him to task for that expreſſion, and charg'd him with having affirm'd, that Chriſt was only the ſon of God by adoption, and by a particular love of God towards him (*ſingulari amore*) and not his eternal ſon, *&c.* Soon after which, the divines of *Paris* publiſh'd a cenſure of that propoſition to the following tenour; *That it gave a falſe ſenſe to the words of the Evangeliſt, and a handle to men, to think wrong of the divinity of the Son of God, as* Neſtorius *had done; for that Chriſt was not the Son of God* by any particular love of *God towards him, nor by any adoption or favour, but that he was originally and neceſſarily ſo. Eraſmus* clear'd himſelf by ſaying, that it was a fault of the impreſſion, and appeal'd to his original and former edition of the ſame paraphraſe, in which they would find the word *more*, inſtead of *amore*; but he was too much ſuſpected by thoſe gentlemen, to be eaſily believ'd either in this, or any other caſe.

THE other happen'd to the learned Dr. *Flavigny*, author of ſome letters againſt Mr. *Jay*'s polyglot, in which two learned *Maronites* had been employ'd by Mr. *Jay*, viz. *Abraham Echellenſis*, Regius profeſſor of *Syriac* and *Arabic*, who had given the text and *Latin* verſion of thoſe two languages of the book of *Ruth*; and *Gabriel Sionita*, profeſſor of the ſame languages. The former of theſe had committed a great many errors in his tranſlation, as well as in the text of that book, nevertheleſs he attack'd his brother *Maronite*, and charg'd him with ſome miſtakes in his part of the work. Hereupon Dr. *Flavigny*, who knew them both equally guilty, undertook to rebuke the aggreſſor; and in a letter to him (*Echellenſis*), made uſe of theſe words of our Saviour; *Quid vides feſtucam in oculo fratris tui?* (why beholdeſt thou the mote in thy brother's eye?) *&c.* It happen'd unfortunately, that the firſt letter of the word *oculo* being either taken up by the balls, or dropt out of the form, or ſome other way loſt, after the firſt proofs had been corrected, gave a very harſh ſound to it, and made it ſeem a profane jeſting upon that ſacred book. *Echellenſis*, in his anſwer, took

took notice of this, and calls him a ſacrilegious and *Jewiſh* perverter of the holy text; and, without acquainting him with his faults, tells him, that ſuch an abominable correction of the text, was too foul for his pen, and only worthy the writings of a *Flavigny*; in ſhort, he ſpends near a whole page in the moſt opprobrious language againſt him, that the height of malice and reſentment could inſpire an inveterate antagoniſt with. Dr. *Flavigny* was a long time before he could diſcover the cauſe of this accuſation, and in all probability might have been ſtill longer ignorant of it, had not a friend of his ſhew'd it to him in the printed copy; for in the two firſt proofs the word was printed perfect. The reſult was, that the author being recover'd of his ſurprize, threw the fault upon the corrector, appeal'd to his original, and to the two firſt proofs, proteſted his innocency and abhorrence of ſuch an action, and took a ſolemn oath, in order to clear himſelf. *Chevilier*, who relates this ſtory, tells us, that *Flavigny*, ſome time before his death, happen'd to mention this; and tho' it was above 30 years after this tranſaction, he could not forbear expreſſing the higheſt indignation againſt his Printer and corrector. Theſe inſtances ſufficiently demonſtrate the dangerous conſequences of neglect in correcting to the author of any book, eſpecially in divinity.

BEFORE I diſmiſs this article of the incorrectneſs of the preſs, I cannot but mention ſome of the greateſt Printers; who, when any of their editions have happen'd to be incorrect, have made an ingenuous confeſſion of, and apology for it, that the commonwealth of learning might not receive any diſadvantage by it, nor the authors ſuffer in their reputation thro' their neglect. I ſhall begin with *Martin Schurrer*, of *Strasburgh*, allow'd by *Eraſmus* to be a perſon of learning, who printed in 1500 the treatiſe *De Patientia* of *Bapt. Mantuanus*. But as he had committed the care of it to a negligent and ignorant corrector, he found himſelf oblig'd to add an errata of a page and half to it, which he prefaces in the humbleſt terms imaginable *; I rather chooſe, ſays he, to take the ſhame of them upon myſelf, by confeſſing my fault, than to let the republick of learning ſuffer by

* Maluimus potius pudore. noſtro fatendo damno noſtra peccata ſint. plecti, quam tacendo reſpublica literarai ſuo

my

my concealment of it. Of this kind is the apology which the ſame Printer makes for the errors of impreſſion in an edition before mentioned, *viz.* the works of *Picus de Mirandula*; wherein he deſires the reader, * that he would not attribute thoſe errors to the author, but to the Printer, who frankly confeſſes his fault. Such errata's not only make ſome kind of reparations to the authors, but oblige likewiſe an honeſt Printer to be more careful for the future. *Henry Stephens* hath often taken the ſame method, and owns, that ſome errors have crept unawares into ſome of his editions †. I ſhould digreſs too far, if I ſhould inſtance in all thoſe Printers, who have follow'd ſo good an example; 'tis ſufficient to ſay, that none of thoſe eminent ones, of whom we have given an account in this whole book, have ever been aſham'd of acknowledging the faults of their works, when they had any ſhare in them. I ſhall cloſe this with a pleaſant way, which the abovemention'd *Stephens* took to correct a fault in his edition *De præſagiis in morbis acutis* of *Hippocrates*, *anno* 1512. 'Tis obvious to every ſcholar, that the firſt ſyllable in the word *Febris* (a fever or ague) may be either long or ſhort; but he having thro' inadvertency ſpelt the word with œ, which made it abſolutely long, he corrects himſelf for it, by ſaying, ‡ *That the Printer had fooliſhly choſen a long fever, when a ſhort one was much more eligible, as being leſs dangerous.*

But after all that hath been ſaid concerning the baſeneſs, negligence, and ignorance of ſome of the Printers of thoſe times, it muſt be own'd, that many a negligent and ignorant author, when he has been admoniſh'd of his errors, hath not ſcrupled to throw them upon the Printer and corrector; which I eſteem another abuſe of the Art of Printing. I could give many inſtances of it, were I not apprehenſive of betraying too great a fondneſs for our profeſſion. However, any judicious reader will eaſily perceive by the largeſt Errata's which we have mention'd, that the authors had as great a ſhare in them as the

* Errores chalcographis, non authori adſcribito. Fatemur ingenuè culpam noſtram.

† Locis aliquot incuria noſtra aberrotum eſt.

‡ Febrem longam ſibi chalcographus delegit' tametſi febris correpta ſit minus periculoſa.

Printers

Printers and correctors. *Chevilier*, who cannot be ſuſpected of partiality to the latter, has excus'd them in many caſes, and ſhewn that the fault was rather to be imputed to the former. But he has furniſh'd me with an inſtance of this, which, I believe, he little thought of; in the caſe of a learned divine of the univerſity of *Paris*, whoſe works having been cenſur'd by that body, and he refuſing to retract them, he was expell'd that univerſity, but was afterwards prevail'd upon to recant. After his death a paper was publiſh'd in his name, in which the blame was laid upon the proteſtant Printers, to whom he had intruſted the work. I ſhall relate the ſtory exactly after Chevilier, tho' ſomewhat abridg'd, and leave the reader to judge, whether the wrong perſons were not unjuſtly blam'd. I hope the ſingularity of the fact will ſufficiently excuſe me, tho' it is of later date, than our prefix'd period.

René Benoiſt, D. D. curate of S. *Euſtace* at *Paris*, made a *French* verſion of the bible, which he caus'd to be printed in fol. ann. 1566 by three eminent bookſellers of that city. This book immediately met with many oppoſers, who cenſur'd it as heretical and erroneous, alledging, that it was only the *Geneva* tranſlation; in which the author had ſoften'd thoſe expreſſions which were moſt ſhocking to the Roman Catholicks. The divines of that univerſity, having met ſeveral times, agreed to cenſure the book, which they did accordingly, *July* 15, 1567. The ſame cenſure was renew'd, and ſubſcrib'd to, by ſeventy three doctors of that faculty, and approv'd *viva voce* by above one hundred and twenty more about 7 years after. *Gregory* XII. confirm'd the cenſure, and condemn'd the book, by a brief dated *Nov.* 3. 1475. During this, *Benoiſt* abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit, in ſpite of all the endeavours of that body to perſuade him to it. At length they agreed upon expelling him that univerſity as an obſtinate heretick, and the ſentence of his proſcription was written in great letters, and ſet up in the common diſputation-hall of the univerſity, by which he was, as it were, executed *in effigie*. However, *Henry* IV. took him into favour, made him his confeſſor, and promoted him to a biſhoprick; but the Pope refus'd to grant him his bull. At laſt, his ſeniority entitling him to be choſen dean of the faculty, they all refus'd their votes, unleſs he would ſubmit to their former cenſures, which he was at length oblig'd to do by a recantation,

in

in which he condemns his verſion, and rejects ſome parts of it as being falſly attributed to him. This was not done till the year 1598, *i. e.* 32 years after the publication of it.

In 1608, a little before *Benoiſt*'s death, came out a book in 8vo, intitled, *A declaration of* René Benoiſt, *concerning his tranſlation of the bible and annotations thereupon*; in which he declares,

, That the ground of all his ſorrow was the treachery of the cor-
, rector, compoſer and preſs-man, who had been intruſted with the
, impreſſion of his bible; that the copy which he had given them was a
, printed one (*here* Chevilier *notes, that it was a* Geneva *one,*) upon which
, he had made his corrections and eraſements, which were not ſo fully
, eras'd, but that they might be eaſily read:

, That ſome of the journeymen (*they did not dare publickly to at-*
, *tack their maſters, who would in all probability have clear'd themſelves*)
, were of the *Geneva* leaven, and printed nothing in the firſt and ſe-
, cond proofs but what was in his copy; but when they came to the
, third, which he did not ſee, they ſubſtituted, inſtead of his corrections,
, the words or notes, which he had eras'd (*ſome inſtances of which the*
, *author of the book gives*), and which the compoſer and preſs-man in
, confederacy had maliciouſly falſify'd:

, That it were tedious to enumerate all ſuch pieces of treachery;
, but that the reſult of it turn'd to his reputation, notwithſtanding his
, unſucceſsful attempts to bring thoſe journeymen to puniſhment:

, That his books had been ſold under his name, tho' he had diſown'd
, them:

, That the cenſure of the univerſity, and the confirmation of it by
, the court of *Rome*, which had condemn'd the work, and not the au-
, thor, was the conſequence of this impoſture, *&c.*'

I shall not enter into a detail of the reflections which *Chevilier* makes upon the *Calviniſt* Printers, as he calls them, nor enquire whether this declamation was really penn'd by *Benoiſt*, or father'd upon him; or if the former, whether it might not be extorted from him, a practice not unuſual with the divines of that church. I ſhall only obſerve, that, were the caſe as it is related in that pamphlet, 'tis ſcarce credible, that the doctor could have been 30 years unappris'd of it,

eſpecially when the cenſures and libels, continually publiſh'd againſt him, ſufficiently pointed it out to him; and if he knew it, can it be imagin'd that he would have continued ſo long under all that ſcandal, and the perſecution of his enemies, when he might have eaſily clear'd himſelf of the one, and ſo put a ſtop effectually to the other? Upon the whole, whoever the author of this declaration is, this ſtory evidently confutes itſelf, and is no other than one of their pious frauds, on which 'tis not my province to animadvert, any further than the credit of our profeſſion is concern'd.

BEFORE I cloſe this chapter, it will be neceſſary to remind the reader, that this ſecond book being wholly confin'd to the hiſtory of printing in other parts of *Europe*, (what relates to our nation being the ſubject of the next book,) I have given none but foreign inſtances of the corruptions and abuſes introduced into this art.

'TIS not therefore to be concluded, that it hath been free in any caſe from them in *England*; ſince we have imitated our neighbours in theſe bad, as well as in their other good, examples; and therefore as theſe abuſes have been equally common to us and them, I ſhall not repeat them in the *Engliſh* part, but only requeſt the reader, once for all, to remember, that we have had our ſhare as well in the diſadvantages, under which our art has labour'd, as in the advantages and improvements, which it has receiv'd.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

An Account of a newly diſcover'd Edition, printed by John Guttenberg *at* Stratzburg *in* 1458, *communicated to me by, and now in the poſſeſſion of, the Right Honourable the Earl of* Pembroke.

THE reader may be pleaſed to recollect that I have, throughout the firſt book of this hiſtory, conſtantly endeavour'd to fix the glory of the invention of Printing upon *John Fauſt*, and that of the improvements of it upon his worthy ſon-in-law *Peter Scheoffer*, excluſive of *John Guttenberg*, notwithſtanding the teſtimony of ſome few writers who have aſcribed the firſt diſcoveries to the latter. I did likewiſe offer it as a probable conjecture of the ingenious Mr. *Maittair*, that *Guttenberg*, having been caſt in a law-ſuit at *Mentz* for non-ſolvency of his quota, might retire to *Stratzburgh*, and there teach *John Mentel*, what he had been able to learn of *Fauſt*'s art. We had not till then the leaſt ground to conjecture that he ever practiſed it himſelf, no annaliſt that ever I could meet with ever mentioning, or perhaps dreaming of, any edition printed with his name. But ſince then the noble lord above-mention'd, unwilling to reſt ſatisfy'd with conjectures, has ſpared no pains or coſt to inform himſelf whether there was any impreſſion extant done by *Guttenberg*, and has at length procured this curious one, which his lordſhip has been pleaſed to communicate to me. The reader, I doubt not, will be highly ſatisfy'd to find that, inſtead of contradicting any thing I have advanc'd upon that ſubject, it rather confirms it all beyond any poſſibility of doubting.

THE book is the dialogues of St. *Gregory* in *Latin*, it has no title-page, but begins abruptly with the ſubject itſelf, only at the end of it are theſe words;

Explicit liber quartus
Dyalogor 4 Gregorii.

Then follows in red letters,

Preſens hoc Op⁹ factum eſt per Johan.
Guttenbergium apud Argentinam,
Anno Milleſimo ccccl viij.

I SHALL now beg leave to make a few remarks on this curious piece, and to ſhew how manifeſtly it confirms all my former conjectures.

1. IT is very rude, and comes vaſtly ſhort of thoſe of *Fauſt* and *Scheoffer*; and the great and almoſt conſtant difference of the ſhapes of the ſame letters, ſhews it to have been done upon wooden blocks, after the manner of the *paginæ conglutinatæ* mention'd above, *pag.* 49 *& ſeq.* there is, however, this difference and improvement in it, that it is not printed with the ſame (that is with the) common Ink, which made them incapable of a reiteration, *i. e.* of being printed but upon one ſide, but with the new invented ſort, which was a mixture of oil-varniſh and lamp-black, and will bear printing on both ſides. This, therefore, ſhews that he had only got an inſight into the firſt diſcovery, but was an utter ſtranger to the laſt and more uſeful one of ſeparate metal-types, which *Fauſt* had probably kept conceal'd from him.

2. SUPPOSING it to be the firſt piece that ever he did, as it probably was, if not the only one of that kind, it was printed in 1458, *i. e.* about three years after the law-ſuit and his falling out with *Fauſt*; ſo that it took him up all that time in cutting his blocks, and getting the reſt of the apparatus of a Printing-preſs, making of tryals, maculatures, *&c.* after he was ſettled at *Stratzburgh*.

3. IT is printed one year after the pſalter of *Mentz*, which was done in ſeparate metal-types, and wherein *Fauſt* and *Scheoffer* aſſume to themſelves the whole glory of the invention; ſo that had *Guttenberg* had the leaſt pretenſion to it, he would not have fail'd doing himſelf juſtice by altering the ſtyle of his colophon, and telling the world what ſhare he had borne in this noble diſcovery, that his ſilence was not owing to his honeſty is plain from his refuſing to pay his dividend of the charges, much leſs to his being ignorant of the publication of *Fauſt*'s pſalter, becauſe *Mentz* and *Stratzburgh* being both ſituate upon the *Rhine*, and not above 60 leagues aſunder, it was morally impoſſible he ſhould not have heard

heard of it. On the contrary, it is likely that, having ſeen it, and obſerv'd it to be printed with fuſile types, he might juſt finiſh this rude edition of his, and then ſtop his hand until *Mentel* and he had fallen upon the ſame way of caſting them.

4. THIS piece is printed upon the ſame paper that *Fauſt* did uſe, which is mark'd with the heifer's head and horns, and might either be his ſhare of the paper-ſtock which they divided at parting, and which he took away with him, or elſe might be deſignedly imitated by him, to give a credit to his work. Upon the whole, its having neither title-page, running title, ſignature, nor direction-word, and being altogether a rude piece of workmanſhip, doth plainly ſhew it to have been of the nature of the firſt eſſays of *Fauſt*, and that it is by no means antedated.

A Catalogue of ſome of the moſt eminent Perſons, Authors and Editors, &c. who condeſcended to prepare MSS. and to correct for the Preſs during the 15th Century, with the Character of ſome of the moſt conſiderable of them.

At BASIL *for* JOHN AMERBACK.

1. JOHN CAPNIO, *alias Reuchlin*, an eminent lawyer, who had ſtudied at *Paris* under the famous *John de Lapide*, doctor of *Sorbonne*, at whoſe requeſt he wrote three books *de verbo mirifico*. He wrote another treatiſe which he entitled *Oculare Speculum*, for which the univerſities of *Cologn*, *Mentz*, *Louvain*, and *Erphord* condemn'd him of Hereſy and Judaiſm, and made preſſing inſtances to that of *Paris* to do the ſame. To prevent which, *Reuchlin* wrote to the doctors of *Sorbonne*, and reminded them, that he had been *Lapidanus*'s diſciple, and that the univerſity of *Paris* was his dear mother: but, as all his rhetorick could not prevent his book being cenſur'd by the *Paris* divines, he calls her afterwards an unnatural ſtep-mother. He was one of the moſt diligent promoters of the ſtudy of *Hebrew*, of which himſelf was a good maſter, tho' he did not learn it of *Lapidanus*, as ſome have imagin'd,

but

but from a *Jewiſh* rabbi, call'd *Jacob Jehiel Loans*, to whom therefore he directs a letter inſcrib'd as follows, *Johannes Reuchlin præceptori ſuo Jacobo Jehiel Loans Judæo, &c.* it is likely, therefore, that after his ſquabble with thoſe univerſities he retir'd to *Baſil*, where he became corrector to the great *Amerback*, who was himſelf a very learned man, and had taken his degrees of maſter of arts in the univerſity of *Paris*. *Vide pag.* 218.

2. JOHN CONN. CONUS, a native of *Nurembergh*, famous for his skill in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues.

3. AUGUSTIN DODO, a learned canon of *Baſil*, who, dying of the plague in 1513, was ſucceeded by

4. FRANCIS WILER, a learned franciſcan.

5. CONRARD PELICAN, an eminent divine, and

6. BEATUS RHENANUS.

For JOHN FROBEN, *ibid.*

1 PETER CASTELLANUS.

2. SIGISMUND GELENIUS.

3. MARK HEILAND.

4. DES. ERASMUS of *Rotterdam*.

5. WOLFGANG MUSCULUS.

6. JOHN OECOLAMPADIUS.

7. WOLFGANG LACHNER.

ALL theſe are ſufficiently known to the learned, eſpecially the 4th, 5th, and 6th.

At BOLONIA.

BENEDICT HECTOR and PLATO DEI BENEDETI, } both eminent and learned, who printed and corrected their own works.

At BRESCIA *for* BONINO DE BONINIS.

MARCUS SCARAMUCCINUS, a native of *Palazolo* in the territories of *Breſcia*.

For

For JAMES *and* ANGEL BRITANNICI, *ibid.*

ANGELUS DE MONTELMO, a learned franciſcan.

At FLORENCE.

DEMETRIUS CALCONDILLA, a native of *Milan*, printed and corrected that noble and beautiful edition of *Homer*'s works, fol. in 1480, of which I have given an account above, pag. 196. He corrected many other *Greek* and *Latin* works, and at length went and ſet up a preſs in his own native city, where he continued printing and correcting for himſelf.

For FRANC. LAURENCE *de* ALOPA, *ibid.*

JOHN ANDREAS LASCARIS, a famous critick in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues. He was deſcended from an illuſtrious family in *Greece*, which gave birth to three *Greek* emperors. After the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the *Turks*, he retired into *Italy*, and ſome time after went into *France*, whence he was ſent embaſſador to the republick of *Venice* by *Lewis* XII. As he was thoroughly verſed in all the antient authors of his own nation, he ſpared no pains to procure the beſt manuſcripts from thence, to compare, correct, and fit them either for the Preſs, or for tranſlating into *Latin*. He was in ſuch credit with *Francis* I. that *Genebrard* tells us, that he and the great *Budæus* perſuaded that monarch to erect that noble library in his own palace of *Fontainbleau*, and to found a college at *Paris* for the royal profeſſors in the learned languages. He is alſo ſuppoſed to have been the corrector, if not the editor, of that noble edition of *Avicen*, which was printed at *Lyons* by *Trechſel* and *Clean* in 1498, in 3 vol. fol. to which he prefixed a dedication to Dr. *Ponceau* the king's phyſician. *Eraſmus* thinks it a kind of miracle that any *Greeks* ſhould ever become ſuch maſters of the *Latin* tongue as he and his two countrymen *Marcus Muſurus*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by and by, and *Theodore Gaza* proved.

A

At LYONS *for* JOHN TRECHSEL.

THE famous *Jodocus Badius*, ſirnamed *Aſcenſius*, who became afterwards one of the moſt eminent Printers.

At MILAN *for* ANTONY ZAROT.

PETER JUSTINUS PHILELPHUS,

For LEONARD PACHEL, *ibid.*

BENEDICT, ſirnamed *Rhetoricus.*

At NAPLES *for* MATT. MORAVIUS.

JUNIANUS MAJO, profeſſor of grammar and rhetorick.

At NUREMBERG *for* ANT. COBURGER.

THE learned *Frederick Piſtorius.*

At PARIS *for* ULRICK GERING *and his two Aſſociates.*

JOHN LAPIDANUS, or *a Lapide*, doctor of *Sorbonne*, and a great promoter of learning. *Vide ſupra pag.* 166, *& ſeq.*

WILLIAM FITCHET, a native of *Aulney* in *Normandy*; he was doctor of divinity, and fellow of the college of *Sorbonne. Vide ſupra ib.*

ERHARD WINDSBERGH, doctor of phyſick in the univerſity of *Paris.*

For ULRICK GERING *and* BERTOLD REMBOLT, *ibid.*

THE learned *John Capuis*, editor of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, with the gloſs, ſhort notes, index, *&c.* printed by *Gering* and his aſſociate in 3 vol. fol. in 1501. This was a moſt elaborate and expenſive work, every page being charged with letters ranked in five or ſix columns, and mix'd with red and black. This edition was ſo highly liked, that it was preſently ſold off, and a new one of a ſmaller ſize came out ſoon after.

At

At ROME *for* CONRARD SWEYNHEYM *and* ARNOLD PANNARTZ.

1. JOHN ANDREAS, biſhop of *Valeria*, and library-keeper to pope *Sixtus* IV. He wrote ſome learned comments on the IVth, Vth, and VIth book of decretals, and gave the world the firſt edition of *Pliny*'s natural hiſtory, in correcting of which he had ſpent nine whole years. We have likewiſe a volume of his letters which are very curious, and the book itſelf ſcarce. His province was to furniſh theſe two *German* Printers with the moſt valuable manuſcripts out of the *Vatican* and other libraries, to compare, correct, and prepare for the preſs, and then to reviſe the ſheets as faſt as they came out. All which he perform'd with indefatigable application. *Vide ſupra pag.* 123, *&c.* He dy'd in 1470, and was ſucceeded by

2. BARTHOLOMEW (by others call'd *Baptiſt*) *Platina*, famous for his hiſtory of the popes.

For ULRICK HAN *or* GALLUS, *ibid.*

1. JOHN ANTONY CAMPANUS, biſhop of *Teramo*. This prelate undertook the ſame province for *Han* that the biſhop of *Valeria* did for *Sweynheym* and *Pannartz*, *viz.* to procure, correct, and prepare for the preſs, and to reviſe the proofs. He was alſo at the pains and charges of collecting the *Latin* tranſlations of *Plutarch*'s lives, which till then did lay diſpers'd, and by pieces among other manuſcripts; and publiſh'd the firſt edition of it in two vol. fol. it has neither date, place, or Printer's name, and is dedicated by *Campanus* to Cardinal *Piccolomini*. In all theſe provinces he was ſo diligent and aſſiduous that he ſcarce allow'd himſelf time to eat, and not above three hours to ſleep. He dy'd in 1477, in the 50th year of his age, and was ſucceeded by

2. CHARLES *de Alexandris*.

For

For EUCHARIUS SILBER, *ibid.*

1. BARTHOLOMEW *de Salicetis.*
2. LUDOVICUS *de Regiis.*
3. MICHEL FERN, ſirnamed *Archipoeta*, editor of biſhop *Campanus*'s works, and a ſevere ſatyriſt againſt careleſs and incorrect Printers, plagiaries, *&c.*

For GEORGE LAVER, *ibid.*

1. CELESTINE PULVERINUS.
2. POMPONIUS.

At TREVISO *for* MICH. MANZOLI *al.* MANZOLINI.

JEROME BONINI.

For BARTHOLOM. CONSOLONERI, *ibid.*

BARTHOLOMEW PEROT.

At VENICE *for* NICOLAS JENSON.

OMNIBONUS LAODICENUS, a native of *Vincentia*, famous for his learned comments upon ſeveral antient authors. He reviſed and corrected ſome of *Cicero*'s works, as likewiſe *Quintiliani Oratoriarum Inſtitutionum libri*, fol. which were printed by *Jenſon* in 1471, with this colophon, *Quintilianum Eloquentiæ fontem ab eruditiſſimo Omnibono Laodiceno emendatum, M. Nicolaus Jenſon miro impreſſit artificio, &c.*

For VINDELIN *de* SPIRA, *ibid.*

GEORGIUS ALEXANDRINUS, &
CHRISTOPHORUS BERARDUS *de Peſauro.*

For

For CHRISTOPHER WARDAFFER, *ibid.*

THE famous *Ludovicus Carbo*, who is ſaid to have corrected his proofs with red ink, from which one might be led to conclude that they had not yet got the method of writing their corrections on the margin of the proof.

For BERNARD PICTOR *and* ERHARD RADOLT, *ibid.*

PETER LOSLEIN *de Langencen*, who, from being their corrector, became their partner, and afterwards ſet up a Printing-houſe of his own.

For ANTONY *della* STRADA, *ibid.*

VICTOR PISANUS.

For PETER VERONENSIS, *ibid.*

JEROME CENTONE of *Padua*.

For PHILIP PINCI, *ibid.*

BENEDICT BRUGNOLI, famed for his great skill in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues.

For ALD. P. MANUCIUS, *ibid.*

1. PETER ALCION.
2. DEMETRIUS CALCONDILLA, mentioned above.
3. ALEXANDER BANDINUS.
4. BENEDICT TYRENUS, and
5. MARCUS MUSURUS, who was a native of *Candia*, and became a famous profeſſor of the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues in the univerſity of *Padua*, and for his great learning and merit was afterwards made biſhop of *Ragufium*. We have already mention'd what *Eraſmus* ſaid of him and his Countrymen *Laſcaris* and *Theod. Gaza*, concerning their great skill in *Greek* and *Latin*; to which *Beat. Rhenanus* adds in his *Vita E-*

 raſmi,

raſmi, that he was a man of ſuch extenſive reading and profound erudition, that there was nothing ſo obſcure and intricate which he could not render plain and eaſy by his eloquence. *Ald. Manucius* doth likewiſe commend him very highly not only for his vaſt learning, but alſo for his indefatigable diligence and accuracy in comparing and correcting antient manuſcripts, both *Greek* and *Latin*, and fitting them for the preſs. Upon which account the care and correction of that noble edition of the *Etymologicon Magnum*, printed at *Venice* by *Zachary Caliergius* in 1499, was committed to him.

For BENET LOCATELLI, *ibid.*

MAURICIUS *de Hibernia*, afterwards biſhop of *Tuamo*..

At VINCENTIA, *for* HERMAN LEVILAPIS.

AENEAS WOLPIUS, prior of the convent of the Holy Croſs.

I HAVE only mention'd ſome of the moſt famous for their learning and diligence, beſides whom there were many more, who, tho' of an inferior claſs, in compariſon of the former; yet were all men of letters, and vaſtly ſuperior to thoſe, which Printers have been forced to make uſe of in proceſs of time. It muſt be alſo remember'd, that many of thoſe Printers of the 15th, and part of the 16th century, were men of great learning and parts, and indefatigable induſtry, able to prepare their manuſcripts for the preſs, and to correct their own works: Such were the great *Amerback* at *Baſil*, who was maſter of arts in the univerſity of *Paris*, *Froben* his worthy partner and ſucceſſor, *Ant. Coburger* at *Nurembergh*, *Aldus Manucius* and *Azulanus* at *Venice*, *Jodocus Badius* at *Lyons* and *Paris*, and many more, of whom we have given an account in this hiſtory. And yet it is obſervable from this table, that thoſe, who were the moſt capable of correcting their own works, did ſtill entertain the greateſt number of correctors.

HOWEVER, I muſt not omit acquainting the readers, that thoſe great perſons whom we have mention'd in this liſt, were not properly correctors in the ſenſe we now underſtand that word; that is, men retain'd

tain'd by a proper ſalary to perform that function, but editors or authors, and correctors only of their own works; or if at any time they were prevail'd upon to overſee any curious edition, it was done rather out of curioſity than for gain. For 'tis certain that every Printer had beſides a corrector of an inferior rank to reviſe and correct every proof, if he did not do it himſelf, before they were ſent to thoſe great men, whoſe corrections were generally of a higher nature. What makes me mention this diſtinction, is the grief which the famous *Eraſmus* conceiv'd at his being upbraided by count *Carpi*, and more particularly by *Jul. Scaliger*, with having ſerv'd as corrector in *Aldus*'s Printing-houſe, and the pains he took to clear himſelf from that imputation. Every body knows that *Eraſmus* had ventur'd to print a dialogue, entitled *Ciceronianus*, in which he endeavour'd to ſhew that *Cicero* was more cry'd up than he deſerv'd; at which *Scaliger* was ſo enraged, that he wrote a vindication of that great maſter of eloquence in two different orations, which he ſoon after printed. In the laſt of which he addreſſes himſelf to *Eraſmus* in words to this effect; *Did not you get a livelihood by correcting* Aldus's *proofs? and were not thoſe errata we meet with in them more owing to your drunken careleſſneſs than to the Printer? do they not ſmell ſtronger of your drunken cups than of the compoſer's dulneſs?* He afterwards affirm'd that he met with *Aldus* one day at *Mantua*, who told him that *Eraſmus* was wont to diſpatch as much buſineſs in one day as other correctors did in two, and to ſolace himſelf the reſt of the time with drinking of good *Malmſy* wine. *Eraſmus* was ſo gall'd at this oration, that, as *Merula* tells us, he bought and burnt all the copies he could poſſibly get of it, and that he ſucceeded ſo well that there was not one to be met with. However, in his anſwer to count *Carpi*, he ſays that he was ſo far from correcting for *Aldus*, unleſs it were his own works, that he refuſed that office to ſome eminent cardinals who deſired him to reviſe the laſt proofs of ſome works then printing: that if he took any thing elſe in hand, whilſt he ſtaid at *Venice*, it was not for lucre, but out of curioſity; and acquaints us, that *Aldus* had a conſtant corrector to his preſs named *Seraphim*, and then adds, *Can he be call'd a ſervant who reviſes only his own works? for I never did any thing elſe for* Aldus, *whoſe Printing-houſe I uſed only for my conveniency*. He has likewiſe been ſup-

ſuppoſed to have corrected for *Theodore Martin* at *Louvain*, but it is likely that it was in the ſame manner, and on the ſame foot as he did it at *Venice*. I had not dwelt ſo long on this nice diſtinction, were it not that thoſe annaliſts, who have mention'd theſe great and learned men as correctors, have not ſufficiently taken notice of it. Beſides, it ought to be conſider'd that there is a vaſt difference between Printing and correcting the works of antient authors after a number of manuſcripts, which have been mutilated and ſpoil'd by every hand through which they paſs'd; and Printing the works of a modern author after his own manuſcript-copy, who is at hand either to reviſe it, or to be conſulted upon any difficulty. The former province requires perſons of the greateſt learning, abilities, and moſt indefatigable application, in reading and comparing their manuſcripts, in order to diſtinguiſh between the genuine meaning of an author and the blunders of his tranſcribers; whereas the latter may be ſupply'd by a perſon of moderate parts and induſtry. As therefore, they have been the greateſt promoters of learning, I hope the reader will not blame me, if I have endeavour'd to do them all poſſible juſtice, and to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe lazy and ignorant ones who have been, and are ſtill, juſtly reckon'd the common peſts of it.

The End of the Second Book.

The EDITOR to the READER.

SOON after Mr. Palmer's *death, I was deſired to ſee what was ſtill wanting to compleat his* Hiſtory of Printing, *according to his firſt propoſal, and what materials he had left behind. I found, upon enquiry, that five ſheets of this laſt Number were already printed off; but that the third ſheet in courſe,* viz. Q q, *was left unfiniſh'd, being partly compos'd, and partly in manuſcript, moſt likely in expectation of that curious edition which*

the R. H. the Earl of Pembroke *was then in ſearch after, which has been mention'd in the Appendix to this ſecond Book; and this ſeems to have been the cauſe of his delaying this laſt Number ſo long, that his laſt ſickneſs prevented his publiſhing it.*

The reader will, no doubt, be as much ſurpriſed as I was myſelf, at finding the laſt page of the ſecond book and the firſt of the third book ſo differently numbred; and that there is a retrogreſſion from 312 *to* 121: *but, as the ſignatures of each ſheet do follow in their regular courſe, I am fully perſuaded that it muſt have been an overſight either of the compoſitor or of the author, which we hope the reader will eaſily forgive, eſpecially conſidering that there is not any thing wanting to compleat this ſecond book; and that the materials he left behind do even exceed his computation for filling this ſuſpended ſheet. However, as there were but three ſheets thus miſ-number'd, having been printed off long before the author's death, I have ventured to ſet all the remaining ones in their due order, to avoid the confuſion that would otherwiſe unavoidably happen in the Index; and hope the reader will be kind enough to do the ſame with his pen to theſe three following ſheets. Thoſe, who know what a tedious ſickneſs Mr.* Palmer *did labour under during the laſt two years of his life, will paſs by ſo inconſiderable an overſight, in conſideration of what he has done when he enjoy'd a better ſtate of health. As for the reſt of this Hiſtory, we hope to find the materials in ſo good an order, that there will be little to do but to print after his manuſcript, excepting where the noble Lord above-mention'd, or ſome of his learned correſpondents, have communicated ſome new diſcoveries too curious to be paſſed by. And this furniſhes me with an opportunity of adding a new authority to what has been before advanc'd, concerning the firſt invention of Printing by* John Fauſt *at* Mentz, *omitted by Mr.* Palmer, *and ſince communicated to me by an ingenious friend of his. It is a paragraph extracted out of* Fox's *book of martyrs, printed in* 1537, *page* 837, *wherein that learned author gives an account of the firſt diſcovery of that art, in all the main particulars exactly agreeable to what has been advanc'd in the firſt part of this Hiſtory, and is to this purpoſe; That about the year* 1440, *or, as others affirm,* 1446 *and* 1450, *one* John Fauſt *of* Stratzburg, *and ſince a citizen of* Mentz, *found out the way of Printing by engraving upon metals, and by degrees improv'd it to cutting of ſingle words, and at length*

ſingle

ſingle letters: that, after ſome eſſays, he communicated his diſcovery to John Guttenberg *and* Peter Scheoffer; *and theſe three, being firſt ſworn to inviolable ſecrecy, made ſome conſiderable improvements in it: that* Guttenberg *did at length, with* John Mentel, *publiſh the art at* Stratzburg, *which was ſoon after brought to greater perfection by ſome eminent Printers in other places; and in particular by* Ulrick Han, *or* Gallus, *at* Rome, &c. *From this ſhort account it is plain that our* Engliſh *author had his intelligence from much better hands than many of the writers that have been quoted on that ſubject; and it is no ſmall pity that he, who has ſo exactly informed himſelf with what had been done at* Mentz, *had not given us alſo an account of the introduction and progreſs of the art here in* England, *we might then have found a much more ſatisfactory account of it, than the reader will find in the next book from all that Mr.* Palmer *could poſſibly procure from other authors and records. However, as to this teſtimony, I doubt not but he would have been glad to have given it an honourable place in his firſt book, had he been appriſed of it; but it is not much to be wonder'd at, that a book of martyrs ſhould be one of the laſt pieces of hiſtory wherein one would have look'd for it. What Dr.* Fox *ſays of their cutting or engraving upon metal, and not upon wood, as Mr.* Palmer *and others have ſince more truly affirmed, can be only look'd upon as a pardonable miſtake in the former, who could not be expected to be a judge of things of this nature; whereas, what the latter advances may be ſurely rely'd on, not only becauſe it was in his own province, and that he neither wanted opportunities, nor ſpared any pains to inform himſelf aright in all thoſe curious particulars, but alſo becauſe his modeſty would not ſuffer him to rely upon his own judgment, till he had it confirm'd by other eminent maſters in the art of Printing, letter-cutting,* &c.

G. P.

BOOK

BOOK III.

OF

ENGLISH PRINTING

AND

PRINTERS.

CHAP. I.

Of the Art's being firſt brought to England.

ALL our *Engliſh* hiſtorians and chroniclers, who have touch'd on this ſubject before *Richard Atkins*, viz. *Stowe*, *Baker*, *Howel*, &c. have proceeded only upon conjecture or common and fallacious reports; or perhaps the firſt of theſe forementioned authors led the reſt into theſe miſtakes, that printing was not invented till the year 1459, nor brought into *England* till *anno*

1471; that at the *Abbey* of *Weſtminſter* the firſt preſſes were ſet up; that Dr *Iſlip*, *Abbot* of *Weſtminſter*, firſt introduc'd the art into *England*; and that *England* had it at leaſt 10 years before any other city of *Europe*, except *Mentz* and *Harlem*. The falſity of ſeveral of theſe particulars, ſufficiently appears from the firſt book of this hiſtory; and the others are manifeſtly diſprov'd ſince I have ſeen a book in the Earl of *Pembroke*'s library, printed at the univerſity of *Oxford*, *anno* 1468. However, their miſtakes were unavoidable in thoſe times; becauſe they were ignorant of ſeveral material particulars, and of the firſt editions, which were abſolutely neceſſary to determine the true periods of the invention and introduction of the art into *England*.

But in 1664, *Richard Atkins*, Eſq; publiſh'd an account of the forementioned edition and an old manuſcript chronicle, preſerv'd at *Lambeth* in the archbiſhop's palace, in his *Original and Growth of* Printing, printed by order of the right honourable Mr. *Morrice* ſecretary of ſtate. The deſign of this book, which is little more than an invective againſt the *Company of Stationers*, is to prove that printing is a branch of the *royal Prerogative*, and a *flower* of the *Engliſh Crown*. This chronicle however, of which a friend of his, whom he does not name, ſent him a copy, is far from being of undoubted authority, ſince it is liable to theſe exceptions. 1. That neither *Atkins* nor his nameleſs friend pretend to have ſeen the original, much leſs to have compar'd the copy with it. 2. They give no account when and by whom this chronicle was written, and how it was bequeath'd to the *Lambeth* library. 3. No author, that I know of, beſides *Atkins*, mentions this chronicle in *Lambeth* library, except thoſe who quote it from him; tho' that author hop'd that his book would occaſion the diſcovery and publication of it in time for publick ſatisfaction, p. 4. 4. It is not to be found there now; for the Earl of *Pembroke* aſſur'd me, that he employ'd a perſon for ſome time to ſearch for it, but in vain. 5. It gives an account of ſome particulars, altogether inconſiſtent with the more authentic accounts, which we are now maſters of, with reſpect to the circumſtances of the firſt diſcovery of the art; ſo that we may ſuppoſe, that whoever the author was, he has taken ſome part of his account from common report, and from the *Dutch*, who have laid claim to this invention. I might add, that *Atkins* has ſo interſpers'd

terſpers'd the chroniclers account with his own obſervations, that it is very difficult to diſtinguiſh them exactly. However, imperfect and precarious as it is, ſince it gives us the moſt probable and clear account of this important affair, I ſhall here ſet it down, as I find it in the author abovemention'd; after which I ſhall endeavour, by reconciling ſome inconſiſtencies in it, explaining ſeveral particulars, and adding ſome neceſſary remarks upon the whole, to lead the reader, if not to a certain, at leaſt to the moſt probable account of this matter.

The chronicle is as follows.

Thomas Bourcher *archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *mov'd the then King* [Henry 6th.] *to uſe all poſſible means for procuring a mold (for ſo 'twas then call'd) to be brought into this kingdom; the king (a good man, and much given to works of this nature) readily hearken'd to the motion; and taking private advice, how to effect this deſign, concluded it could not be brought about without great ſecrecy, and a conſiderable ſum of money given to ſuch perſon or perſons, as would draw off ſome of the workmen from* Harlem *in* Holland, *where* John Guthenberg *had newly invented it, and was himſelf perſonally at work. 'Twas reſolv'd that leſs than one thouſand marks would not produce the deſir'd effect; towards which ſum, the archbiſhop preſented the king with three hundred marks. The money being now prepar'd, the management of the deſign was committed to* Mr. Robert Turnour, *who then was of the robes to the king, and a perſon moſt in favour with him, of any of his condition. Mr.* Turnour *took to his aſſiſtance Mr.* Caxton, *a citizen of good abilities, who trading much into* Holland, *might be a creditable pretence, as well for his going, as ſtay in the* Low Countries. *Mr.* Turnour *was in diſguiſe (his beard and hair quite ſhaven off;) but Mr.* Caxton *appear'd known and publick. They having receiv'd the ſaid ſum of one thouſand marks, went firſt to* Amſterdam, *then to* Leyden, *not daring to enter* Harlem *itſelf; for the town was very jealous, having impriſon'd and apprehended divers perſons, who came from other parts for the ſame purpoſe. They ſtay'd till they had ſpent the whole one thouſand marks in gifts and expences; ſo as the king was fain to ſend five hundred marks more; Mr.* Turnour *having written to the king, that he had almoſt done his work; a bargain (as he ſaid) being ſtruck between him and two* Hollanders, *for bringing off one of the workmen, who ſhould ſufficiently diſcover and teach this new art. At laſt with much ado they got*

off one of the under workmen, whoſe name was Frederick Corſells (*or rather* Corſellis), *who late one night ſtole from his fellows in diſguiſe into a veſſel, prepar'd before for that purpoſe, and ſo the wind (favouring the deſign) brought him ſafe to* London.

'Twas not thought ſo prudent to ſet him on work at London, *but by the archbiſhop's means, who had been vice-chancellor, and afterwards chancellor of the univerſity of* Oxon, Corſellis *was carry'd with a ſtrong guard to* Oxon; *which guard conſtantly watch'd to prevent* Corſellis *from any poſſible eſcape, till he had made good his promiſe, in teaching how to print: ſo that at* Oxford, *printing was firſt ſet up in* England; *which was before there was any printing-preſs or printer in* France, Spain, Italy *or* Germany, *except the city of* Mentz, *which claims ſeniority as to printing even of* Harlem *itſelf, calling herſelf* Urbem Moguntinam Artis Typographicæ inventricem primam; *tho' 'tis known to be otherwiſe, that city gaining that art by the brother of one of the workmen of* Harlem, *who had learn'd it at home of his brother, and after ſet up for himſelf at* Mentz.

This preſs at Oxon *was at leaſt ten years before there was any printing in* Europe, (*except at* Harlem *and* Mentz), *where alſo it was but new born. This preſs at* Oxford *was afterwards found inconvenient to be the ſole printing place of* England, *as being too far from* London, *and the Sea: whereupon the king ſet up a preſs at St.* Albans, *and another in the Abby of* Weſtminſter, *where they printed ſeveral books of divinity and Phyſick, for the King, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf and council, permitted then no law-books to be printed, nor did any Printer exerciſe that art, but only ſuch as were the king's ſworn ſervants; the king himſelf having the price and emolument for printing books.*

THUS far the chronicle, or our author's extract from it; for, as I obſerv'd before, he diſtinguiſhes not his own from the chronicle, nor acquaints us whether it be literally copied from the chronicle, or an abſtract of it; nor whether it mentions any other tranſactions beſides that of bringing printing to *England.* I ſhall therefore follow him no further, at preſent, but examine the truth of the ſeveral particulars of this account: yet previous to this, I ſhall obſerve, that we have the like account of this affair in Antony Wood's *Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Univerſity of* Oxford, printed in 1674, *i. e.* ten years after *Atkins* had publiſh'd his piece; from

from which the forementioned author ſeems to have taken his account wholly; in many particulars, of which he has been confuted by ſeveral writers, as ſhall be ſhewn immediately. To return to *Atkins's* book; which is unknown to foreigners, and ſeen but by few in *England*; the author of that chronicle is miſtaken in ſeveral points; 1. in ſuppoſing *Harlem* or *Harlein*, as he calls it, to be the place from whence *Corſellis* came: It is not probable, that the art was invented there, eſpecially by *Guttenbergh*, and in the year 1459, ſince it appears, the pſalter was printed at *Mentz* by *Fauſt* two years before that, beſides the ſeveral books printed on wooden blocks. Again, if the book mention'd by *Atkins* and *Wood* to have been printed at *Oxford*, *anno* 1468, be the firſt book printed there, 'tis plain, that city had not the art ten years before any other; becauſe I have lately ſeen a book printed at *Strasburg* by *John Guttenberg*, in 1458, as I have already hinted in the poſtcript of the foregoing number; beſides *Strasburg*, it was at *Venice*, the monaſtery of *Sublaco*, *Auſburgh*, *Rome* and *France* before 1468. If it be urg'd, that there might be other books printed before that at *Oxford*, or that it requir'd ſome time to get all the neceſſary materials of a printing-houſe; the ſame pleas will equally ſerve for thoſe other places now mention'd. *Laſtly*, if we admit *Guttenbergh* to have carried the art to *Holland*, which we ſhall ſhew hereafter to be extremely probable, it will be ſtill falſe, that *Mentz* receiv'd it from the brother of one of his workmen. Theſe are the inconſiſtencies and contradictions to plain facts, now certainly known, which derogate from the authority of this chronicle and of thoſe that follow it. We ſhall now endeavour to clear theſe inconſiſtencies, or at leaſt to ſhew how the author of it was led into theſe palpable errors, and from thence to diſcover the real truth of the whole tranſaction.

We have already hinted at the probability, that he rather followed the reports ſpread about from *Holland*, than made a ſtrict enquiry into this ſubject. This will appear more plain from the following conſiderations. 1. We hinted in our 1ſt book, that during the infancy of the art, *Fauſt* and *Schoeffer*, and together with them *Guttenbergh*, carry'd on the buſineſs with all poſſible ſecrecy, till the former being oblig'd to diſcover it at *Paris* for his own ſafety, and the latter having broke the partnerſhip, and gone to ſet up the art elſewhere; it was thought of no further

further uſe to conceal this invention. 2. The reader may call to mind that we advanc'd a probable conjecture of Mr. *Mattaire*'s, that *Guttenbergh* being caſt at law, and ſentenc'd to reimburſe his moiety, and pay the charges of the ſuit, went away to *Strasburgh* to evade the ſentence, which is now confirm'd by the book printed there juſt now mentioned; where not thinking himſelf ſafe from further proſecution, he might really come down to *Harlem*, and there inſtruct *Coſter*, or ſome others in the art. This ſeems to be more than probable, not only from the chronicle's mentioning *Guttenbergh*, and not *Coſter*, as inventor of the art, but likewiſe from his dating the invention nine years later than it was diſcover'd; which muſt be aſcrib'd to its not having been known at *Harlem* till the year 1459, tho' it had been practis'd at *Mentz* from the year 1450, or ſoon after, as has been ſufficiently ſhewn before.

AGAIN, if we conſider that *Holland* and the *Low-Countries* were the only places of *Germany*, into which we traded, whereas the city of *Mentz*, which lies very far in the continent, was then little known to us, we ſhall not wonder, that our firſt accounts of the original of printing, ſhould be taken from the *Dutch*, agreeable to their violent claims to the invention of it, and their ſcandalous ſtories invented to deprive *Fauſt* of his diſcovery; for the chronicle acquaints us, that the city receiv'd it from a fugitive ſervant of *Guttenbergh*, who had learn'd it from his brother then working with him, and went to ſet it up there. There remains one ſingle difficulty ſtill; why the chronicle attributes the invention to *Guttenbergh*, when all their writers make no mention of him, but aſcribe it wholly to their countryman *Coſter*. To ſolve this, if we ſuppoſe this account given to the author by *Frederick Corſellis*, or even by Mr. *Caxton* or *Turnour*, which is very probable; we may juſtly preſume, that they ſpoke as they were inform'd on the ſpot, agreeably to the account which *Guttenbergh* gave of himſelf and of his invention, which the *Dutch* dar'd not to contradict, till after his death or departure from *Holland*, when they aſſum'd the whole diſcovery to themſelves, and repreſented *Coſter* as the ſole inventor, excluſive of every other pretenſion. I have dwelt longer on theſe circumſtances, becauſe they notoriouſly demonſtrate, that thoſe contradictions to plain facts, univerſally known and aſſented to by all but the *Dutch* writers, confirm the authority of the reſt

of

of the chronicle; ſince they are exactly drawn from the legends of that nation, which were then generally believ'd over all the *Low-Countries*, and were the only accounts that our merchants, and particularly the two gentlemen employ'd by the king, could procure concerning the original of printing. And 'tis not improbable that what the chronicle mentions of the impriſonment of ſeveral perſons at *Harlem*, on ſuſpicion of a deſign to ſteal the art, might be done rather out of fear leaſt any of thoſe ſtrangers ſhould rob them of their honour by expoſing the vantiy of their pretenſions; ſince themſelves could not be ignorant of what was done at *Mentz* long before that time.

BEFORE I diſmiſs this chronicle,) which, as I obſerv'd, was unknown till Mr. *Atkins* publiſh'd it, I ſhall give an account, which I found in a manuſcript now in my poſſeſſion, which ſeems to be much older than the year 1664, when Mr. *Atkins* publiſh'd his account, and which, a few Circumſtances excepted, entirely agrees with that of the chronicle. The part relating to the introducing of printing into *England* being very ſhort, I believe will be acceptable to the reader, and is as follows.

The riſe and progreſs of printing in England.

The art of printing was firſt brought into England *in the time of* Hen. vi. *at the charges of the archbiſhop of* Canterbury (Bourchier,) *who employ'd one* Turner *maſter of the robes to the king, and one Mr.* Caxton *a mercer of* London, *but uſing the trade of a merchant, to go to* Harlem *to endeavour to bring over ſome of the workmen, that had then newly practis'd the art there, who prevail'd upon ſome of the under-workmen to come over with them into* England, *and to teach them their trade. As ſoon as they were landed, they were convey'd under a guard to the univerſity of* Oxford *for fear they ſhould run back again; and there they ſet up a preſs about the year* 1467, *as appears by ſeveral books that were printed there about that time. The names of thoſe workmen were* Rood *an* Almayn (*or* German) *and* Winken de Worde; *and the charges of the journey coſt the archbiſhop* 1500 *marks, as appears by ſeveral papers and memorials relating to this matter, that are ſtill extant in the library at* Lambeth. *Shortly after there was a preſs ſet up at the Abbey of St.* Albans, *which continued till the diſſolution,* &c.

THE remainder being foreign to this chapter, ſhall be communicated in ſome of the following, to which it more properly belongs. I need not obſerve that this manuſcript aſcribes all the honour of this tranſaction to the

the archbiſhoſhp; whereas the chronicle aſſures us that the king contributed the greateſt ſum towards it. The date mention'd in my manuſcript is a year before the *Oxford* edition came out.

It may be here objected that the year 1467 cannot bring it within the reign of *Henry* VI. who had been depos'd ſix years before; but I anſwer that the manuſcript does not aſſert that the *Dutch* printers came not into *England* till that year, but that their preſs was not ſet up till then; and tho' this happen'd in another reign, yet it will ſtill be true that king *Henry* caus'd them to be brought over, whilſt he was upon the throne, tho' the civil wars, and his being depos'd, put a ſtop to their proceedings for ſix or ſeven years. We ſhall have occaſion to remark further upon this in the next chapter. As for its complementing the archbiſhop with having been at the whole expence of the journey; it may be aſcrib'd to want of better information, or partiality to that prelate, who might ſtill be in great eſteem under king *Edward*; whilſt the good king *Henry* was ſtrip'd of the royal dignity and wholly neglected. With reſpect to the two printers mention'd there; the firſt is probably the ſame, *Theodoric Rood*, who printed afterwards by himſelf, and of whom we have but two editions printed at *Oxford* in 1480, and 1481, of which we ſhall give a further account in the next chapter. Whether he came along with *Corſellis* as an under-workman, is difficult to determine,

I am of opinion that *Winken de Worde* came not to *England* till ſome years after; tho' he might eaſily be confounded by the author of the M. S. with the other, on account of his *Dutch* name, and of his having ſignaliz'd himſelf afterwards by the number and elegance of his editions, which he printed both under *Caxton* and by himſelf. Thus 'tis plain that the few records, which we have, agree in the following particulars; that archbiſhop *Bourchier* ſollicited king *Henry* VI. to procure the eſtabliſhment of the art of printing in this kingdom; that the king not only conſented, but contributed largely to it; that *Turner* and *Caxton* were employ'd in this deſign; that it coſt 1500 marks to execute it; that it was happily effected during the reign of *Henry* VI. i. e. before the year 1461, ſince in the beginning of that year he was depos'd by *Edward* IV. and laſtly, that *Oxford* was fix'd upon by the king and Archbiſhop to ſet up the firſt preſs in, and make the firſt eſſays of this art; which city therefore ſhall be the ſubject of our next chapter.

CHAP

CHAP. II.

Printing at Oxford *by* Frederic Corſellis.

SOME *Engliſh* authors, and particularly Mr. *Howel*, are of opinion, that the firſt trials of this art were made in the *Ambry* belonging to *Weſtminſter-Abby*, where Mr. *Caxton* afterwards carry'd on the buſineſs with good ſucceſs for a conſiderable time; as ſhall be related in its place. But as they affirm this upon the ſuppoſition, that the Abbot of that place, [*Iſlip*], was the perſon, who procur'd the art to be brought to *England*; whereas the chronicle abovemention'd, which they knew nothing of, aſſerts the contrary; in both theſe reſpects, I think it more reaſonable to follow it, than thoſe writers: nor indeed is it probable, that any but a crown'd head, or ſome perſons employ'd by him, would venture upon ſuch a dangerous project. Beſides, this account of the chronicle is confirm'd by the edition of 1468, mention'd in the preceding chapter, of which we ſhall ſpeak more fully hereafter: for tho' this comes ſhort in date of the laſt year of *Henry* VI, by ſeven or eight years, yet it is older by at leaſt as many, than any impreſſion of *Caxton*'s at *Weſtminſter*, as far as has been yet diſcover'd. Add to this, that according to their Suppoſition, that Mr. *Caxton* learn'd the art from the workman brought over from *Holland*, we muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe the latter to have made ſeveral eſſays, and printed a volume or two at leaſt, before the former could be perfect enough in it to engage in that province. But I am far from thinking, that *Caxton* either learn'd the art from him, or even came over to *England* with him; ſince 'tis much more probable, that he diſpatch'd Mr. *Turnour* with *Corſellis* thither, and carried on his commerce as well as his ſtudies beyond ſea. I am inclin'd to this opinion, by a paſſage in the preface to the ſecond book of his *hiſtory of Troy*, which he tells us he tranſlated from the *French* at the deſire of the *Dutcheſs of Burgundy*, the King's ſiſter; which tranſlation, he ſays, he began at *Bruges*, anno 1468, continued at *Gaunt*, and finiſh'd at *Cologn*, anno *a thouſand four honderd* lxxi. Hence 'tis plain, that he was ſtill travelling in *Flanders* and *Germany*

three years after the firſt edition printed by *Corſellis* at *Oxford:* nor does it appear, that *Caxton* came preſently after to *England*, but ſtay'd to write a third book in the laſt mention'd place, *Cologn*, as he informs us in theſe words; „ *The third book of the deſtruction of* Troy ——— *I have now* „ *good leyzer in* Cologn ——— *I have delibered in my ſelf beyng* „ ——— *to take thislaboure in hand*". 'Tis unreaſonable to imagine, that a man of his years, (of which he complains in the ſame preface, ſaying, that *age crept on him daily and feebled all the body*,) ſhould come along with the *Dutch* Printer, and learn the art from him, and then go travelling again, having one book to tranſlate, and another to write, *viz.* his *Fruits of Time.* I am of opinion therefore, that he learn'd the art, at leaſt got a good inſight into it abroad, and perhaps at *Cologn*; tho' he might make himſelf maſter of the practical part of it after his return into *England.*

THUS far therefore 'tis plain, that *Caxton* had been on his travels ſome time, when *Corſellis* printed that firſt edition at *Oxford*; that the latter was the firſt Printer in *England*; and that *Oxford* was the place, where the firſt preſs was ſet up. The chronicle gives theſe reaſons why that Printer was ſent thither; 1. Becauſe it was an inland town, out of which it would be leſs poſſible for him to eſcape, than from *London* or any place near the ſea; 2. Archbiſhop *Bourchier*, who had been vice-chancellor, and was then chancellor of that univerſity, may be ſuppos'd to have had a more than ordinary regard for it, and, in conſequence of that, to have prevail'd upon the King to honour it with the firſt preſs. To theſe we may add the two following, *viz.* 1. That an univerſity was the moſt proper place for ſuch a work; becauſe it would ſtill be under the eye and direction of the learned men there, who could make choice of the beſt works to be printed, the beſt MSS. to print from, and the moſt skilful perſons to correct them; 2. the city of *London*, and almoſt the whole kingdom being diſturb'd and divided by the *Earl of March*'s party, and the court engag'd in oppoſing his meaſures, an univerſity was a much ſafer and quieter place to lay the foundation of this art in, than any other in the kingdom. *Corſellis* therefore, and thoſe to whom he was to diſcover the ſecret, having ſworn fidelity to the king and his ſucceſſors, and being admitted into the number of the king's ſervants and houſhold,

houſhold, began to exerciſe this art as ſoon as they had got all things ready for it. How long they were thus employ'd in their preparations, and what progreſs they made after I ſhall next enquire.

THE reader will have juſt cauſe to admire, that, if they began ſo ſoon as the latter end of *Henry* VI's reign, *viz.* before *anno* 1461, they ſhould have publiſh'd no work yet diſcover'd till ſeven years after, *viz.* 1468; and that there are but three editions extant between that time and the year 1481, the edition of 1468 included; and, what is ſtill more admirable, that from that year to 1585, which is above 100 years, there is not one volume to be found printed at *Oxford*, tho' the art flouriſh'd in ſeveral other parts of *England*, as will appear in the progreſs of this hiſtory. This laſt particular I can by no means account for; but the other, I mean their ſlow progreſs at firſt, is eaſily ſolv'd by what has been hinted before, *viz.* the troubles which were then breaking forth, and fell upon the king and court, as well as his depoſition, which happen'd immediately after their firſt ſettlement in that univerſity, together with the oppoſition made continually by his Queen and friends againſt his victorious rival. Beſides, if we conſider that the Printers were ſworn ſervants to the crown, and conſequently incapable to act without the king's ſpecial order, or at leaſt his licence, whilſt *Henry* their Patron was out of power, and the reigning monarch otherwiſe employ'd, it will be very eaſy to account for theſe delays, and the ſmall progreſs which they made in thoſe troubleſome times. We may likewiſe with great probability ſuppoſe, that moſt of their works were ſuch as were adapted to thoſe times of ſuperſtition, as prayer-books, manuals, legends, *&c.* which periſh'd ſoon after the reformation.

IT muſt be own'd indeed, that the author of the chronicle, ſo often mention'd, tells us, that as ſoon as *Corſellis* had perform'd his promiſe, and inſtructed a ſufficient number of others in the art, it was thought proper to diſperſe them, ſome to *Weſtminſter*, others to *St. Albans*, &c. Yet it is ſtill very ſurprizing, that ſo conſiderable a place as *Oxford* could not detain one of them by a ſufficient encouragement. However, 'tis plain, that except *Theodoric Rood*, a *German*, and native of *Cologn*, who very probably came over with Mr. *Caxton* from thence, and of whom we have diſcover'd but two editions, there are no other footſteps of

printing in this univerſity extant from that time to 1585, nor any tolerable account among the writers of thoſe times for ſuch a wonderful ſcarcity. But this is not the only thing which the reader will be ſurpriz'd at, with relation to the ſlow progreſs which printing made at *Oxford*.

I have, in the former book, given an account of vaſt improvements made to that art in foreign countries, and to what a degree of perfection the *Italians* and *French*, in particular, had brought it, not only with reſpect to the exquiſite beauty and variety of characters, richneſs and elegancy of compoſition, *&c.* but likewiſe by their introducing the learned and eaſtern languages, as *Greek*, *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, &c. into their printing-houſes, even before the year 1520, and printing ſeveral curious polyglot works in all theſe tongues, beſides the *Latin*. But tho' I have extended this *Engliſh* hiſtory thirty years further than theirs, *viz.* to the year 1550, yet the reader muſt not expect to find any thing of this nature done in *England* during that time. Our firſt Printers, tho' excellent men in their way, contented themſelves with printing in their own tongue; and if they ventur'd ſometimes either upon *Latin* or *French*, their productions in thoſe languages were few and inconſiderable: but with reſpect to *Greek* and *Hebrew*, either thro' want of due encouragement from the learned, or of courage in them, 'tis certain they never attempted any thing of that kind till a long time after.

The reader may remember with what difficulty the *Pariſian* Printers were prevail'd upon to venture upon ſuch works; what objections and obſtacles they rais'd againſt ſo expenſive and hazardous an undertaking: yet a learned *Frenchman* ſo far prevail'd with ſome of them, that he had the pleaſure of ſeeing ſeveral of his own works printed in thoſe languages; the reception of which ſoon encourag'd them to proceed in ſeveral noble undertakings. But the caſe was far different in *England*: for the learned Dr. *Wakefield*, having made an oration in 1584, to recommend the ſtudy of the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues, and ſhew the uſefulneſs and neceſſity of them, was oblig'd to publiſh it maim'd and imperfect, wanting near a third part, becauſe, as he tells us, the Printers of that time had no *Hebrew* types; tho' it was printed by *Wynken de Worde*, one of the moſt eminent Printers in *Europe* of that age. Printing in *Greek* made no great figure in *England* before the 16th century,

tury; and the moſt learned work, which we have to boaſt of, was the polyglot bible of Dr. *Walton*, mention'd at the latter end of the laſt book, which was not printed till after the reſtoration by Mr. *Thomas Roycroft*, of whom I ſhall ſay more hereafter.

EXCEPT this, I don't find any footſteps of any works in the polyglot kind, but what were ſmall and inconſiderable. However, we, like the *Dutch*, have ſufficiently ſince atton'd for the ſlow progreſs which our anceſtors made in thoſe noble branches of printing.

I ſhall now give an account of the editions before mention'd between the years 1468 and 1585.

1. *Sancti Hieronymi expoſitio in Symbolum Apoſtolorum*, 4to, (without the Printer's name.) } Oxon, 1468.

THIS antient piece begins with the following title. *Incipit Expoſitio Sancti Jeronimi in Symbolum Apoſtolorum ad Papam Laurentium.* At the end are the following words: *Explicit Expoſitio Sancti Jeronimi in Symbolo Apoſtolorum ad Papam Laurentium, Impreſſus Oxonie & finita Anno Domini* MCCCCLXVIII. xvii. *die Decembris.* There is one in the *Bodleian* library, given by the learned biſhop *Barlow*, who wrote with his own hand, in the firſt page, that this *expoſition* was not St. *Jerom*'s, but *Rufinus*'s: *Rufini eſt hæc Expoſitio, non Hieronymi:* and in the laſt page he wrote as follows,

Stephen Bateman *doctor of divinity, and chaplain to* Hen. Cary *Ld.* Hunſden *upon Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum* [*the book was writ in Latin anno* 1366, *tranſlated into Engliſh in* 1397,] in the laſt he tells us, *that Bartholomeus was firſt printed in Engliſh* in 1471, and then he adds, ——*at which time printing began firſt in* England, *the 37th year of* Hen. VI. but he is manifeſtly miſtaken, for this foregoing book was printed in 1468 at *Oxford*, at leaſt two years before. This remark of Dr. *Bateman* has another groſs miſtake, beſides that obſerv'd by biſhop *Barlow*; which is, that the year 1471 was far from being the 37th of *Henry* VI. who had been depos'd 10 years before. The 37th year of that King's reign was the year 1459; in which 'tis probable ſome foundations of printing had been laid in *England*, tho', for the aforemention'd reaſons, we meet with

with nothing done in that kind till eight or nine years after. We ſhall affirm nothing concerning this *Engliſh* edition of *Barth. de Propriet. Rer.* (tho' 'tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe it printed at *Oxford*,) ſince we have no other account of it but this manuſcript note of biſhop *Barlow*.

2. *Leonardus Aretinus in Ariſtot. Ethic. Comment.* Oxon, 1479.

I THINK 'twill not be amiſs to inſert here what is wrote before theſe two books, which are in the *Pembroke* library, 'tis as follows.

, Here are the only two books to be ſeen by *Corſellis*, the firſt Printer , at *Oxford*; tho' there are other copies of the firſt, of the ſecond we , know of only this. Theſe are printed on the ſame ſhap'd letters as , the *Rationale* and *Catholicon* by *Fauſt* (vulgarly doctor *Fauſtus.*) The , civil wars in *Edward* IV's time might probably hinder the progreſs of , the preſs; the third book, *viz.*

3. *Ægidius de Româ*, alias *Ægidius Columna Romanus Archiep. Bituricenſ. Ord. Eremit. S. Aug. de Peccato Originali*, 4to. } Oxon, 1479,

, was printed about the time of the ſecond, and, 'tis probable, , this was printed by *Corſellis*, for the next Printer at *Oxford* was *Rood*, , as appears by the following book.

4. The deſtruction of *Troy* in *Latin*, by *Guido de Columna*, by T. R. } Oxon, 1480.

THERE is alſo one more printed by *Rood* at *Oxford*, mention'd by *Orlandi*, viz.

5. *Alexandri ab Hales Angli Sententioſa, atque ſtudio digna expoſitio ſuper tertium Librum de Anima. Impreſſum per me Theodoricum Rood* [Road] *de Colonia* xi. *Octob. in Alma Univerſitate.* } Oxon, 1481.

' Both

, Both *Corſellis* and *Rood* are mention'd by our hiſtorians, to have been
, brought over by *Caxton*. *Caxton* with Sir *Richard Whetehill* were ſent,
, after he brought *in the art*, by *Edward* IV. to ſettle a commerce
, with the *Duke* of *Burgundy*, in 1464. *Vide Rymer's Fœdera.*

THUS much for *Oxford* in the infancy of the art.

CHAP. III.

Weſtminſter. MCCCCLXXIV.

WESTMINSTER being the moſt conſiderable place on ſeveral accounts, and particularly for its productions, and the great applauſe with which Mr. *Caxton* carry'd on the buſineſs of printing there for above 21 years; we have for this reaſon given it the priority; yet hope I ſhall be excus'd for this digreſſion concerning St. *Albans*, which has been far leſs eminent on this account, and as a hiſtory of the two books printed there, I ſhall here relate as I found it wrote before the Book of Miſcellanies, printed at St. *Albans*, in the *Pembroke* library. 'Tis as follows.

, IT is agreed, that *Corſellis* was the firſt who printed in *England*, and
, that *Oxford* and St. *Albans* were the two firſt places; the types, as may
, be ſeen in my Lord's books, at *Oxford* were like thoſe of *Fauſt*; the types
, of this at St. *Albans* are like the *Dutch Spieghel*. *Junius* argues for the
, firſt printing to be at *Harlem* from the *Dutch Spieghel*; but it appears
, from what is writ before the five books, call'd *Paginæ Conglutinatæ*,
, that the *Latin* one of this *Dutch* was before it, the which he had not
, ſeen, neither does it conclude where it was printed; however, this book
, of St. *Albans* affords an argument, which *Junius* could not then know
, of, that the *Dutch* letter might be before 1460, and it favours what *At-*
, *kins* ſays of a preſs brought over from *Harlem* in the time of *Henry* VI.
, who dy'd in 1460. This is the ſame letter, and we read that *Frederick*
, *Corſellis* did at St. *Albans* inſtruct an old learned ſchool-maſter to print,
, and *Corſellis* was of a conſiderable age when *Theodoric de Rood* of *Colen*
, ſucceeded him at *Oxford*, by whom we have two books printed; the firſt
, as old as 1480, already taken notice of. It has been a doubt, whether

, they

, they firſt printed at St. *Albans* or at *Oxford*, the oldeſt book of St. *Al-*
, *bans* with a date is here; but we cannot prove this book of *Miſcellanies*
, to be older than the diſſolution of the Abbies by K. *Henry* VIII. 'till
, when a preſs remain'd, and the firſt letter us'd as late as 1490, ſuch a
, year appearing in this book. We know of but one more book at St.
, *Albans*, the which my Lord alſo has; it diſcovers that there was another
, preſs ſet up at St. *Albans* after this, with the letter of the *Spieghel*, be-
, cauſe that is printed with *Caxton*'s types, and hath (as *Caxton*'s books
, have) the two improvements of indenting paragraphs, and dividing words
, by hyphens at the ends of the lines; the Printers of this, with the letter
, of the *Spieghel*, continu'd to print as they began, without the two im-
, provements, even after the preſs of *Caxton*; tho' even here that preſs
, us'd his improvements. This other book is dated 1486 in words at
, length, at the end of the book of hunting, beſides the arms of that mo-
, naſtery, which are at the end of the whole book. *Spelman* in his *Aſpilo-*
, *gia*, quotes the whole book, as wrote by *Juliana Barnes*, and is ſo referr'd
, to by *Bale* in his *Scriptores*, tho' ſhe appears to be the author only of
, the piece of hunting; the treatiſe in that book of coat arms, is only a
, tranſlation of *Upton de re Militari*. That printed by *Caxton* at *Weſtmin-*
, *ſter* in 1496, was a ſecond edition of this book.

, Of this, with the types of the *Spieghel*, there is a ſecond edition in 1529,
, printed by *Winken de Worde*; it conſiſts of miſcellanies, and has ſome-
, thing very remarkable, as the old tryal in K. *Henry* VI's time at *Leiceſ-*
, *ter*, (not taken notice of in our great collection of ſtate-tryals) of the
, cardinal of *Wincheſter*, impeach'd by the Duke of *Glouceſter* before the
, *Houſe of Lords*, in which appears the names of the mitred Abbots among
, the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the form of the clerks entring as
, they came in, and at different times took the oaths. The names of the
, thirty ſix churches in *London* and ſuburbs that were not parochial; alſo
, of the hundred and eighteen pariſh churches and their patrons. In this
, is the *Nut brown maid*, ſuppos'd by *Chaucer*, as *Skelton* confirms, by hav-
, ing had a copy given him by *Lidgate*, Monk of *Bury*. Mr. *Prior* has
, made a paraphraſe on it, and has alſo printed it from the old *Engliſh*,
, but knew not that it was by *Chaucer*; beſides, in his, each verſe is divid-
, ed into two, as the firſt verſe ends with *among*, and the ſecond ends

, with

with *it is*, &c. Alſo in his, *Woman* and *Man*, is printed at the beginning of each Stanza [here they are ſuppos'd] as they ſpeak. Alſo the laſt Stanza (which makes twelve lines by his diviſion) is wanting.

THUS far we have copied from my Lord's manuſcript notes before his books of St. *Albans*. We now proceed to *Weſtminſter*; and here 'tis requiſite to obſerve, that Dr. *Iſlip*, abbot of *Weſtminſter*, having very liberally promoted this art, and encourag'd Mr. *Caxton*, to whom he aſſign'd that part of the Abby, ſuppos'd by ſome of our hiſtorians to be the Ambry or Eleemoſinary. As a confirmation of this opinion, Mr. *Newcourt* in his *Repertorium*, tom. i. pag. 721, has it thus: ' St. *Ann*'s, an , old chappel, over againſt which the Lady *Margaret*, mother to king , *Henry* VII, erected an alms-houſe for poor women, which is now turn- , ed into lodgings for the ſinging-men of the college. The place, wherein , this chapel and alms-houſe ſtood, was called the Eleemoſinary or Al- , monry, now corruptly the Ambry, [Aumbry] for that the alms of , the Abby were there diſtributed to the poor; in which *Iſlip*, abbot , of *Weſtminſter* erected the firſt preſs for book-printing, that ever was in , *England*, about the year of *Chriſt* 1471, and where *William Caxton*, citizen , and mercer of *London*, who firſt brought it into *England*, practis'd it.' This might occaſion the report, that this abbot firſt brought printing to *England* at his own charges. This notion of his introducing the art into our nation, which has prevail'd among ſeveral of our writers, is not only contradicted by the author of the chronicle, but ſeems to be groundleſs on this account, that if there had been any truth in it, Mr. *Caxton* would have been oblig'd in gratitude to have taken notice of this ſingular piece of merit of his friend and patron, in ſome of the prefaces to his works.

I HAVE follow'd the ſame method in this book, as I did in the former, dating the places according to the oldeſt edition extant, that bears any certain date; tho' I am not ignorant that ſome of them may come ſhort of being the firſt that were printed there. Mr. *Bagford* (whoſe papers are now in the poſſeſſion of the right honourable the Earl of *Oxford*, at *Wimpole* in *Cambridgeſhire*) tells us, in a propoſal he publiſh'd for a Hiſtory of Printing, that *Caxton*'s firſt impreſſion ſeems to be that of

, they firſt printed at St. *Albans* or at *Oxford*, the oldeſt book of St. *Al-*
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, with

with *it is*, &c. Alſo in his, *Woman* and *Man*, is printed at the beginning of each Stanza [here they are ſuppos'd] as they ſpeak. Alſo the laſt Stanza (which makes twelve lines by his diviſion) is wanting.

THUS far we have copied from my Lord's manuſcript notes before his books of St. *Albans*. We now proceed to *Weſtminſter*; and here 'tis requiſite to obſerve, that Dr. *Iſlip*, abbot of *Weſtminſter*, having very liberally promoted this art, and encourag'd Mr. *Caxton*, to whom he aſſign'd that part of the Abby, ſuppos'd by ſome of our hiſtorians to be the Ambry or Eleemoſinary. As a confirmation of this opinion, Mr. *Newcourt* in his *Repertorium*, tom. i. pag. 721, has it thus: 'St. *Ann*'s, an , old chappel, over againſt which the Lady *Margaret*, mother to king , *Henry* VII, erected an alms-houſe for poor women, which is now turn- , ed into lodgings for the ſinging-men of the college. The place, wherein , this chapel and alms-houſe ſtood, was called the Eleemoſinary or Al- , monry, now corruptly the Ambry, [Aumbry] for that the alms of , the Abby were there diſtributed to the poor; in which *Iſlip*, abbot , of *Weſtminſter* erected the firſt preſs for book-printing, that ever was in , *England*, about the year of *Chriſt* 1471, and where *William Caxton*, citizen , and mercer of *London*, who firſt brought it into *England*, practis'd it.' This might occaſion the report, that this abbot firſt brought printing to *England* at his own charges. This notion of his introducing the art into our nation, which has prevail'd among ſeveral of our writers, is not only contradicted by the author of the chronicle, but ſeems to be groundleſs on this account, that if there had been any truth in it, Mr. *Caxton* would have been oblig'd in gratitude to have taken notice of this ſingular piece of merit of his friend and patron, in ſome of the prefaces to his works.

I HAVE follow'd the ſame method in this book, as I did in the former, dating the places according to the oldeſt edition extant, that bears any certain date; tho' I am not ignorant that ſome of them may come ſhort of being the firſt that were printed there. Mr. *Bagford* (whoſe papers are now in the poſſeſſion of the right honourable the Earl of *Oxford*, at *Wimpole* in *Cambridgeſhire*) tells us, in a propoſal he publiſh'd for a Hiſtory of Printing, that *Caxton*'s firſt impreſſion ſeems to be that of

Game of Cheſs, in 1474; becauſe it carries that date in the device, as the reader may ſee under his picture at the front of the ſecond volume, tho' he owns there was another impreſſion of it without that device, as well as ſeveral other of his works without any date at all. However, the oldeſt that has a certain date, ought in reaſon to fix our epocha, according to our method.

WILLIAM CAXTON. 1474.

MR. *Caxton* was born, as he writes himſelf, in the *Weeld* of *Kent*, where the broadeſt *Engliſh* is ſpoken; but as *Fuller*, in his *Engliſh Worthies* aſſerts, he was born at *Caxton* in *Hertfordſhire*, being perhaps lead into that error by his ſirname, ſince it was the cuſtom of that time for perſons to denominate themſelves from the place of their birth. I think it will be neceſſary to ſubjoin his own account of himſelf in this reſpect, from his preface to the *Recule of the Hiſtoryes of Troye*, tranſlated by him out of the *French* of *Raoul le Fevre*, *Prieſt*. —— , When I re- , member myſelf of my unperfitneſs in both languages. —— In *Fraunce* , was I never, and was born and lerned myne *Engliſh* in *Kente* in the , Weeld, where *Engliſh* is ſpoken broad and rude. —— I have continu- , ed for the moſt part in the countries of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Holland* and , *Zeland*. —— The Dutcheſſe of BOURGOGNE ſiſter of the king of *Eng-* , *land*, when ſhe had ſeen v or vi quairs, found default in myn *Engliſh*, , which ſhe commaunded me to ammand, and to continue and make , an end of the reſidue, — whoſe commaund I durſt not diſobey.' —— Thus far Mr. *Caxton:* and I can't but obſerve, that the faults of his *Engliſh* are owing more to his long continuance abroad, than to the place of his birth; which will eaſily appear from an accurate obſervation of his language and manner of ſpelling, which diſcover the foreigner more than a broad-ſpoken *Kentiſh* man. His education was owing to his mother, and extended no farther than to read and write, which, he ſays, procur'd him a good maintenance. Mr. *Bale* tells us indeed, that he underſtood the *Latin* tongue; which is plain, from his tranſlations out of that language.

But

But, as he does not mention it as a part of his youthful education, 'tis very probable that he did not apply himſelf to the ſtudy of it till a long time after. He was bred a mercer of the city of *London*, and became a *Conjurys* thereof,* as he ſtiles himſelf in his preface to *Cato*, that is, a ſworn member of that company, which in thoſe days conſiſted of very conſiderable merchants, trading more particularly into the *Low-Countries*, and ſome of the maritime parts of *Germany*. To theſe he was frequently ſent, but never had the fortune to viſit *France*; tho' he became ſo good a maſter of that language, as to tranſlate ſeveral volumes into *Engliſh*, of which we ſhall give an account hereafter. His travels likewiſe ſo well accompliſh'd him in the *High* and *Low-Dutch*, that upon the account of this, and his knowledge of thoſe countries and their trade, the king choſe him as a fit perſon to undertake the bringing printing to *England*. This taſk, how difficult and hazardous ſoever, he acquitted himſelf with great integrity.

Mr. *Caxton*, beſides his accompliſhments as a merchant, acquired a great deal of politeneſs, partly by his travels for 30 years, and partly by his frequent reſidence at the court of the dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, ſiſter to king *Edward* IV, who careſs'd and patroniz'd him very much; for, in the preface abovemention'd, he tells us, that he was *a ſervant to her grace, and received of her a yearly fee, and other many good and greate benefits*. He was likewiſe a favourite to ſeveral of our kings, particularly *Henry* VI, *Edward* IV, *Richard* III, and *Henry* VII; and highly eſteem'd by the prime of our nobility, and eſpecially by the duke of *Clarence*, the king's uncle, to whom he dedicated ſome of his works; the counteſs of *Derby*, king *Henry* VII's mother; the earl of *Rivers*, *Arundel*, with many others. As he was a perſon indefatigable and ambitious of applauſe, as well as earneſt in promoting the glory of his own country, he read inceſſantly the

* I have indeed, thro' the favour of Mr. *Crump*, at *Mercer*'s hall, ſearch'd their book of freemen, but could not find his name there. There was one *Richard Caxton* made free about that time, whether it was a relation of his, or a miſtake in tranſcribing his chriſtian name, I cannot be ſure of; but however, as he calls himſelf a *Mercer* of *London*, we have no reaſon to doubt it.

hiſtories of his own and other nations; which at proper times he digeſted into order. At his return to *England*, he became acquainted with a learned ſchoolmaſter of *St. Albans*, ſuppos'd by ſome writers upon good grounds to have been the printer of *Juliana Barnes*. This perſon, having laid the foundation of a compleat body of *Engliſh* hiſtory, kept a conſtant correſpondence with Mr. *Caxton*, and was aſſiſted by him in his tranſlations; but, being prevented by death from finiſhing his work, Mr. *Caxtom* procur'd his papers, examin'd, and reduc'd them to order, and compar'd them with the beſt authors he could get, as *Livy*, *St. Auſtin*, *Gildas*, *Beda*, *Iſidorus*, *Caſſiodorus*, *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, *William of Malmeſbury*, *Martin Canſulanus*, and others; from whom he alſo extracted many conſiderable paſſages, which he added to the hiſtory. This work he entitled *Fructus temporum*, or the fruits of time, in ſeven books; to which he ſubjoin'd a chronology. The hiſtory begins with the giants, the firſt ſuppos'd inhabitants of this iſland, and concludes with the 23d year of *Edward* IV. viz. *ann.* 1483. What ſhare our author had in this performance, and how great a part was done by the ſchoolmaſter, is impoſſible to determine. This book was often reprinted and much valued at that time; yet, tho' it is the moſt conſiderable piece which Mr. *Caxton* publiſh'd, we have ſeveral others written and printed by himſelf, which are as follow:

2. *An appendix to Treviſa's Engliſh tranſlation of Randulph's polychronicon*, 1 book;
3. *The image of the world*, 1 book;
4. *The deſcription of Great Britain*, 1 book;
5. *The life of Edward the Confeſſor*, 1 book;
6. *The hiſtory of king Arthur*, 21 books;

and ſome others, all in *Engliſh*. The appendix to *Treviſa* is continued, from the year 1397, in which the ſupplement of *Treviſa* to the *polychronicon* ends, to the year 1460, in which he wrote it. The learned Mr. *Selden* indeed aſcribes the whole to *Treviſa*; but, beſides that, *Caxton* takes the ſupplement and other additions and interpretations to himſelf; but 'tis plain, as Dr. *Nicholſon* obſerves, that *Treviſa*, according to that ſuppoſition, muſt have wrote near a hundred years after his death. Thoſe which he tranſlated out of *Latin* and *French* are as follows:

Out

Out of *Latin*.

1. *Vegetius de re militari, or of the art of war*, 4 books;
2. *Joannita of the game of chefs*, 4 books;
3. *The hiſtory of the deſtruction of Troy*, 3 books;
4. *Bonaventure of the Life of Chriſt*, 1 book;
5. *The hiſtory of Lombardy*, 1 book;
6. *John Tinmouth's Sanctilogium Britanniæ, epitomiz'd by Capgrave.*

From *French*.

1. *The ſiege and conqueſt of Jeruſalem, by Geodfrey of Bologne*, dedicated to King *Edward* IV.
2. *The royal book, entitled in French le livre royal.*

BESIDES theſe, there are ſeveral others in the liſt of his printed works ſubjoin'd to the account of his life. He printed likewiſe ſome books in *French*, as *La legende doree*, &c. and ſome in *Latin*, as *Vita patruum* and *Boetius de conſolatione philoſophiæ*, &c. This catalogue of his works, as an author, I have taken from *Pitts* and *Bale*; the latter of whom gives him the character of *vir non omnino ſtupidus nec ignavia torpens*, neither a perfect dunce nor abandon'd to lazineſs: I ſhall more readily aſſent to the judgment of a much later and more judicious writer, Dr. *Nicholſon* who ſays of *Bale* (p. 177) that he gives the account of men and their labours at random; and of *Caxton* (p. 190) that the opportunities he had, of being acquainted with the court-tranſactions of his own time, would encourage his reader to hope for greater matters from him; but that his fancy ſeems to have lead him into an undertaking (with reſpect to his *Fructus temporum*) above his ſtrength. There is one thing very obſervable concerning this excellent Printer and author, that he tranſlated, printed, corrected, illuminated and bound all his Books within his own office or printing-houſe. As he printed long before the method of adding the errata at the end of books was in uſe, ſo his extraordinary exactneſs oblig'd him to a great deal more trouble than can eaſily be imagin'd; for he tells us, in the preface to ſome of his books, that his chief care, after a work was printed off, was to reviſe it, and mend all the faults with his own hand with red ink; which being done to one copy, he caus'd ſome of his journey-men to do the ſame throughout the whole impreſſion; which he afterwards compar'd with his firſt ſheet, to ſee that they

they had not omitted any of his corrections. 'Tis true, they did not print off ſo large a number of books as now; for 250 or 300 were thought a large impreſſion; but even that number made it very tedious to correct throughout: tho' this was practis'd by ſeveral eminent Printers of other nations, 'till they found out the way of printing the errata in ſome blank leaves of the book.

MR. *Caxton* having made himſelf a perfect maſter of the Art of Printing (not at *Oxford* under *Fred. Corſellis*, as ſome authors imagine, but during his travels beyond ſea, as will appear hereafter) came and ſettled at *Weſtminſter*, where abbot *Iſlip* (as ſome ſay) his friend and patron, aſſign'd him one of the chapels belonging to the abby, as we have before quoted from *Newcourt*, as being retir'd and free from interruption; and from this or ſome other chapel, 'tis ſuppos'd that the name of chapel has been given to all printing-houſes in *England* ever ſince. And notwithſtanding it is by ſome reported, that it was ſet up in the chapel there, I can trace no footſteps of its having been practis'd in that place. My manuſcript beforemention'd ſays, , that a preſs was ſet up in *Weſt-*, *minſter* abby by abbot *Iſlip*, in the little ambry, where *William Cax-*, *ton* was maſter'. Mr. *Bagford* aſſigns the houſe in the ambry which was formerly the king's head, as the place where *Caxton* carried on his printing, but had I been early enough in my enquiry before 'twas pull'd down, as Mr. *Bagford* was, I flatter my ſelf I could have found ſome remains. I have great reaſon to think it had been a printing-houſe, by having been inform'd, that ſome perſons found among the rubbiſh ſome remains of printing materials; but, thro' ignorance of the curioſity of them, they are either loſt or deſtroy'd. As I have given my reaſons againſt the arts being practis'd in the chapel at *Weſtminſter*, I rather think, that our technical terms in printing, ſuch as a printing-houſe being call'd a chapel; and where printing is grey in one place, and too black in another, the grey is call'd a fryar, and the black a monk; I think, I ſay, that theſe terms took their original from the art's being practis'd in other religious houſes beſides that at *Weſtminſter*: for 'tis evident, by the book hereafter mention'd, printed in the exempt monaſtery of *Taviſtock* in *Devonſhire*, by *Dan Thomas Richard*, monk of the ſaid monaſtery, that ſeveral of the religious orders exercis'd this art, perhaps in ſome outer

outer chapel, which, being dedicated to ſome ſaint, was only us'd once a year on the anniverſary of that ſaint.

THE reader will find, that printing-houſes were ſet up in ſeveral cities and towns in *England*, where they had any conſiderable religious houſe. Thus we ſee the abby of St. *Albans* had printing there very ſoon, as before notic'd. Nor was this the only religious houſe where printing was practis'd, and that very early; for time has diſcover'd to us ſeveral others, ſuch as *Taviſtock*, as aforeſaid, *Worceſter*, *Canterbury*, *Ipſwich*; which were choſen for that purpoſe. We have already hinted, that the firſt Printers were ſworn ſervants to the Crown; and in particular Mr. *Caxton* not only printed as ſuch, but all his impreſſions were recommended either by the king, or princes of the blood, or by ſome eminent patron amongſt the nobility, who bore the charges of the whole. The types with which he printed were peculiar to himſelf, and eaſily diſtinguiſh'd from any other, being a mixture of ſecretary and Gothic in ſhape, the ſize great primer. He had ſeveral eminent workmen under him; particularly *Winken de Worde*, a Dutchman, and *Rich. Pynſon*, a citizen of *London*, who afterwards printed for themſelves many valuable pieces, which ſhall be mention'd in their proper place. They likewiſe us'd a letter peculiar to themſelves, which as I ſhall take notice, differ'd from their maſter's, and was more refin'd and moderniz'd. Mr. *Caxton*, beſides his other valuable qualifications, was a perſon of exemplary piety and ſtrictneſs of life. He continu'd printing from before the year 1474 to 1495, as is evident from the end of the *Vita patrum* and *Hilton*'s *ſcale*, printed, or rather finiſh'd, in that year by *Winken de Worde*. Mr. auditor *Jett* deceas'd, aſſur'd me, that he was bury'd in St. *Margaret*'s church, *Weſtminſter*; and that he ſaw the remains of his tomb-ſtone, but I have not as yet been able to find it.

THE liſt of his works is as follows; in which I could not poſſibly recover the right titles of each book; but ſuch as I could meet with, I have ſet down exactly as printed by him. Thoſe which have no certain date are put at the end.

1. *The*

1. *The Game of cheſs.* fol. tranſlated out of the Latin of *Joannita*, and by him dedicated to the duke of *Florence*, brother to king *Edward* IV, who was murther'd in the tower, *ann.* 1477. There are two editions of *Caxtons* of this book; one which has a kind of cypher or device, bearing the date of 74, and the other without both. The former therefore I ſuppoſe to be firſt printed, which has the date, *VVeſtminſter*, } 1474.

IT is now in the *Pembroke* library, nor do I know of one any where elſe.

2. *A book of ſayings of the philoſopher Socrates*, tranſlated out of *Latin* into *French*, by *Johan. de Tronville*, provoſt of *Paris*, and out of the *French* into *Engliſh*, by *Wydewyll*, *Earl of* Ryvers ---- *emprinted by me William Caxton at Weſtmeſtre.* } 1477.

The work was by the Earl's deſire overſeen by *Caxton*. *Caxton me fieri fecit.* This book is in the library of my worthy friend and promoter of this work Mr. *Granger.*

3. *Memorare noviſſima*, which entreateth of the four laſt things, the firſt of death, the ſecond of the laſt judgment, the third of the pains of hell, the fourth of the joys of heaven; tranſlated out of the *French* by *Antony*, *Earl of Rivers*, Lorde *Scales*, and of the *Iſle of Weight*, defenſor and dictator of the cauſes apoſtolique for our holy father the pope, uncle and governour to my lord, prince of *VVales*: printed by *VVillam Caxton*, in the year of *Edward* IV. *4to.* Ibid. } 1478.

4. *Ovid*'s *metamorphoſis.* Ibid. 1479.

5. *Thymage or mirrour of the world, tranſlated from the French into Engliſh. ibid.* fol. } 1480.

BEGAN the ſecond of *January*, 1480, and finiſh'd it the 8th of *March* in the ſame year. *Caxton me fieri fecit.*

6. *The*

6. *The hiſtory of England, together with the hiſtory of Ireland, taken out of the polychronicon.* fol. ibid. } 1480.

THERE are two editions of this book, both by *Caxton*, and ſince then it has been frequently reprinted by others till the year 1530.

7. *The life and hiſtory of king Arthur, &c. in* 21 *books, written and printed by Caxton.* ibid. } 1480.

8. *The hiſtory of the laſt ſiege and conqueſt of Jeruſalem, tranſlated from the French of Godfrey of Bologn.* [1] ibid. } 1481.

9. *The hiſtory of Reynard the fox.* 4to. ibid. 1481.

10. *Tully of old-age and of friendſhip, in Engliſh.* fol. 1481.

11. *The continuation of Ranulph's polychronicon, Engliſh'd by Treviſa.* fol. *without the place's name. by W. Caxton.* [2] } 1482.

12. *Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum Anglicé.* fol. ibid.

THIS was communicated to me whilſt I was printing this liſt, ſo that I had not time to enquire after the Engliſh title of it.

13. *Cathone's exhortations or precepts, with comments,* fol. ibid. [3] *december* xxiii. } 1483.

14. *The hiſtory of the knights of the tower.* ibid. 1483.

[1] With many hiſtories therein compriz'd tranſlated, and reduc'd out of *French* into *Engliſh* by me ſimple perſon *William Caxton*, which book I preſent unto the moſt chriſtian king *Edward* IV.———which book I began in *march* 7, and finiſh'd the 7th of *juin*, 1481. and the 21ſt year of king *Edward* IV. and in this month ſet in form and emprinted the 20th of *november* the year aforeſaid in the abby of *Weſtminſter* by the ſaid *William Caxton*.

[2] Firſt tranſlated out of *Latin* by *John Treviſa*, chaplain to the lord *Berkley*, and then continued by me ſimple perſon *William Caxton*, &c. printed *july* 2.

[3] *At the end are theſe words:* Cathon tranſlated out of *French* into *Engliſh* by *William Caxton*, in the abby of *Weſtmynſtre*, 1483, firſt yere of our king *Richard* the thyrd, 23d of *decembre*.

15. *The pilgrimage of the ſoul, tranſlated out of French into Engliſh with ſomewhat of additions.* fol. *emprinted by me William Caxton at Weſtmeſtre.* [1] 1483.

16. *Cato Engliſh'd by Caxton.* fol. 1483.

17. *Confeſſio amantis, the confeſſion of the lover made by Johan. Gower, born in Walys, in the time of king Richard the ſecond.* fol. *emprinted by me William Caxton at Weſtmeſtre.* [2] 1483.

18. *The book of homilies in Engliſh.* fol. ibid. 1483.

19. *La legende dorée.* ibid. 1re *année de Richard* III. 1483.

20. *Directions for keeping the feaſts of the whole year.* fol. ibid. *June the laſt.* 1483.

21. *The lives of the ſaints.* ibid. 1484.

22. *The royal book, entitled in French, Le livre royal.* [3] fol. *tranſlated and printed by William Caxton, in the ſecond year of king Richard* III. *without the place's name.*

23. *Walter Hilton's ſcale of perfection.* ibid. 1484.

24. *The hiſtory of the noble and valiant knyght Paris, and the fair Vienne, the daughter of the doulphin of Viennes.* fol. ibid. [4] 1485.

25. *The life of Charles the great.* ibid. 1485.

26. *Vita patrum.* ibid. 1485.

[1] Finiſh'd the ſixth day of *juyn*, the firſt yere of king *Edward* the fifth.

[2] Finiſh'd the ſecond of *ſeptember*, the firſt yere of *Richard* the 3d, in the yere a thouſand CCCCXXXXIII. *In this date 'tis plain, by the king's reign, that the* X's *muſt be taken for twenties and not for tens.*

[3] A ſpecial book to know all vices and the branches of them, and alſo all virtues. This book ſheweth and enſeigneth it ſo ſubtilly, ſo ſhortly, ſo perceivingly, and ſo perfectly, that for ſo ſhort comprehenſion of the noble cleargie, and of the right great ſubſtance that is therein compris'd, it may be call'd above other books, the royal book, or book for a king.

[4] Tranſlated out of *French* into *Engliſh* by *William Caxton* of *Weſtminſter*, finiſh'd the laſt of *auguſt*, 1485, and emprinted the 19th of *december* the ſame year.

27. *Mal-*

27. *Malvire's hiſtory of king Arthur.* ibid. *julii ult. in the year* 1485.

28. *The book of good manners.* ibid. [1] 1486.

29. *A treatiſe againſt pride.* ibid. 1486.

30. *Dives and Lazarus, a dialogue on the decalogue.* fol. ibid. 1488.

31. *The book of* xpyne, *(Chriſtian) of Pyſedracon, out of Vegetius de re militari, and out of the arbre of battaile, with many other things ſetten to the ſame, requiſite to warre and battailes; which book was delivered to tranſlate and print, to William Caxton by king Henry the ſeventh, in the fourth year of his reign.* fol. ibid. [2] 1489.

32. *The book of feats of arms.* ibid. 1489.

33. *Virgil's æneid tranſlated, or rather epitomiz'd, from the French in proſe by William Caxton:* printed by him. fol. ibid. 1490.

34. *The hiſtory of Jaſon.* ibid. 1492.

35. *Confeſſio amantis, or the confeſſion of the lover, of Johan. Gower, &c.* ibid. This is the ſecond edition, with the ſame colophon as the former. 1493.

36. *Vita patrum.* Second edition. ibid. 1495.

37. *Recueil of the hiſtory of Troy, per Caxton.* 1502.

THIS edition, with ſome others, were communicated to me by a learned antiquary, in thoſe very words, but whether he was really the Printer of it, or only the author, and the book Printed by ſome other, is what I cannot determine, unleſs I could have ſeen the book.

[1] Compos'd by frere *Jacques le Graunt*, religious of the order of St. *Auguſtin*.

[2] Which Tranſlation was began the 23d of *january*, and finiſhed the 7th of *july* the ſame year, and emprinted the 14th of *july* next following.

Thoſe that follow are without date.

1. *Liber feſtialis.*

THIS edition, though I have given it no higher rank, upon the account of its having no date, doth yet manifeſtly appear to me to have been the firſt book extant of *Caxton*'s Printing. I have ſeen it at my Lord *Pembroke*'s library, and compar'd it with thoſe of the *Game of Cheſs*, his three books of the hiſtory of *Troy*, and his *Polychronicon*; all which have been ſeverally look'd upon as his oldeſt edition by one annaliſt or other, and find in it theſe two unqueſtionable marks of antiquity above the other three, *viz.* 1. The types on which it is printed appear to be entirely new, though they be the very ſame which he uſed in all his other works; whereas, in the others they ſeem to be more uſed and worn. 2. This edition is the only one whoſe lines are not ſpaced out to the end; this being an improvement and elegancy introduced by him in imitation of foreign Printers; whereas all the firſt editions had the ſame defect with this.

AS for the three books of the hiſtory of *Troy*, the ſecond is that which I imagine to have been printed firſt. I have ſeen it very perfect in ſeveral libraries, but the firſt and third I never could meet with any where, but in the noble library above mention'd. And even here they are ſomewhat imperfect, the firſt book wanting a few leaves at the beginning, and the third at the end. However, they all bear alike the mark of antiquity, and are unqueſtionably done with *Caxton*'s types. The oldeſt book I could ever meet with that bears a date is his ſecond edition of the *Game at Cheſs*, in 1474, as may be ſeen by the catalogue above; and what inclines me to believe it to have been the firſt of that kind, is that the ſame date 74 is continued in his following works that are dated, to which he ſometimes added the two initial letters of his name, as in the mark or rebus here ſubjoined.

N. B. W C *ſtands for* William Caxton, *and the Figure between, for* 74, i. e. 1474; *the reader will plainly perceive the* 7, *and the other is a figure of* 4, *as made at that time.*



We

We have met with but five editions without date, though we have ventured to add ſeveral more upon the authority of Mr. *Maunſel* and other authors, who we think may be rely'd on.

2. *The game of Cheſs.* [1]

3. *The rule of the monks of St. Bennet.* fol. ibid.

4. *The life of our Lady.* fol. [2]

5. *The life of St. Winifred.* 4to. *tranſlated and printed by William Caxton.*

6. *St. Auſtin raiſing two dead perſons.* 4to.

7. *An expoſition on the Lord's Prayer, Belief, Commandments, ſeven ſacraments, ſeven virtues, ſeven deadly ſins:* item, *the general ſentence, or ſentence of curſing,* modus fulminandi ſententiam : *the beads on ſonday.* fol. *Printed by William Caxton at Weſtminſter.* [3]

8. *The fruit of time.* fol. *collected, compil'd, and Printed by William Caxton.* ibid.

9. *The ſpouſage of a virgin.* 4to. ibid.

10. *The ſiege of Rhodes.* fol. ibid.

11. *Boetius de conſolatione philoſophiæ.* ibid.

12. *The mirrour of the bleſſed life of Jeſus Chriſt, written in Latin by the worſhipful Dr. Bonaventure; tranſlated into Engliſh in* 1410, *and brought to the reverend father Thomas Arundel, Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, who commanding and allowing the ſame, was afterwards printed by William Caxton.* ibid.

[1] Part of *Caxton*'s Preface to the Game of Cheſs, in the hands of *Maurice Johnſon*, Eſq; is as follows; 'And when I ſo had acheved 'the ſaid Tranſlacion I dyde do ſette in em-'prynte a certein nombre of theym whiche 'anone were depeſhed and ſolde, and where-'fore by cauſe thys ſayd book is ful of holſom 'Wy edom and requyſyte unto every aſtate 'and degree, I have purpoſed to emprynte 'it, ſhewing therein the figures of ſuch per-'ſones as longen to the Playe.

[2] Written in verſe by *John Lidgate*, monk of *Bury*.

[3] *This book begins thus*; The maiſter of ſentences in the ſecond book and firſt diſtinct. ſaith, that the ſoveraigne cauſe why God made all creatures in heaven, earth, or water, was his own goodneſs.

13. *Chau-*

13. *Chaucer's Canterbury-tales, collected into one volume by Mr. Caxton.*

14. *The book of arts and ſciences by Mr. Caxton.*

15. *The Curiace of Maſter Alayn Charetier, tranſlated by Caxton.* Belonging to *Maurice Johnſon*, Eſq;

16. *Parvus chato* —— *Cato's precepts in Latin and Engliſh verſe.*

17. *De fide & cantû famule ſue.*

II. WINKEN DE WORDE. MCCCCXCV.

WINKEN *de Worde*, the *Dutchman*, is ſuppos'd to have come over with Mr. *Caxton*, and was his ſervant and journey-man. He ſucceeded him in his Printing-houſe, as appears from ſome of his firſt impreſſions done by him, as he tells us, *in the houſe of Mr. Caxton.* It's difficult to aſſign the exact time when he came to *England*; whether with *Frederick Corſellis*, as my manuſcript affirms, or ſome years after, which is more probable. After Mr. *Caxton*'s death, he carry'd on the buſineſs, and finiſh'd ſome volumes begun by his maſter, as the *Canterbury-tales* and *Hilton's ſcale of perfection.* This laſt Mr. *Mattaire* dates in the year 1494, and Mr. *Bagford* 1465, who gives it as the firſt impreſſion done in *Winken de Worde*'s name. I have choſen to follow Mr. *Bagford*, who was very exact, as far as he could procure materials; for I have not yet met with the book my ſelf. Though the liſt of this Printer's works is very large, yet I am certain there are many more either loſt or ſtill latent in ſome libraries; for he was a perſon of vaſt induſtry, and receiv'd all imaginable encouragement; ſo that he publiſh'd ſeveral volumes in one year, though we meet with ſome conſiderable chaſms in others, during which time we cannot ſuppoſe him idle. He left *Weſtminſter*, and ſet up his Printing-houſe in *Fleet-ſtreet*, at the ſign of the *Sun*, in the pariſh of *St. Bride.* I cannot determine the year of his removal; though his firſt impreſſion there was done, *anno* 1503. He printed ſeveral *Latin*, as well as *Engliſh* volumes, but no *Greek*, as I can find. He continued Printing with great applauſe till the year 1533,

if

if not beyond that time. At his death he left a ſum of money for an annual *obiit* for his ſoul to the pariſh of *St. Bride's*, of which he was an inhabitant. He was a perſon of great accompliſhments in learning, as well as ſtrictneſs of morals; and though he was the immediate ſucceſſor of *Caxton*, yet he improv'd the art to a very great perfection. At his firſt ſetting up for himſelf, his firſt care was to cut a new ſett of puncheons, which he ſunk into matrices, and caſt ſeveral ſorts of Printing-letter, which he afterwards us'd. As *Caxton* us'd but two ſizes, *Double Pica* and *Great Primmer*, viz.

Begun and finiſhed by me ſimple Man, W. C.

Begun and finiſhed by me ſimple Man, W. C.

Winken de Worde gave a greater ſcope to his fancy, and form'd ſuch a variety of ſorts and ſizes of letter, that for ſeveral years after him, none of his ſucceſſors attempted to imitate him therein. If he was the manual operator in cutting and caſting in his own founding-houſe, 'tis an incredible improvement which he made to the art; but, if he had his letter from any other Printer abroad, though it robs him of this glory, yet his excellent method of diſpoſition, compoſition, and preſs-work, ſhews him to have far excell'd his maſter, and even to rival any of of his contemporaries abroad. There is one circumſtance that induces me to think that he was his own letter-founder; which is, that in ſome of his firſt Printed books, the very letter he made uſe of, is the ſame us'd by all the Printers in *London* to this day; and I believe were ſtruck from his puncheons.

The firſt is the two lin'd *Great Primmer* black,

by me Winken de Worde

The next is the *Great Primmer* black,

This Work Was finiſhed by me, Winken de Worde.

He

He is the firſt *Engliſh* Printer, who introduc'd the *Roman* letter in *England*, which he us'd with his *Gothic* or black letter, to diſtinguiſh any thing remarkable, as we do the *Italic* with the *Roman* at this time. His letter is different from moſt other Printers, and is caſt ſo true, and ſtands ſo well in line, as not to be excell'd by any ever ſince: in his *Gothic* and *Roman* letter he fell in with the cuſtom of thoſe times by uſing abbreviations, even in his ſmall ſiz'd letters. One circumſtance I would obſerve is, that he is the only Printer I can find in *England* that us'd very ſmall body'd letters in the infancy of the art, and he was fond even to the very laſt of uſing his maſter *Caxton*'s rebus, of which we have given a ſpecimen at the bottom of page 340. Upon the whole, he was a very curious, laborious, and indefatigable Printer; and I doubt not but time will add to his character, by bringing to light ſome noble teſtimonies of ſo great a man, which for want of, I am obliged to ſay ſo little here. He is the firſt Printer I have yet diſcover'd who began to print the year-books. [1]

The Liſt of his Works, as far as I have been able to collect them, are as follows.

1. *Polychronicon.* 1495.
2. *Chaucer's Canterbury-tales collected by William Caxton, and printed by Wynken de Worde at Weſtmeſtre.* fol. } 1495.
3. *The lives of the holy faders hermits, tranſlated by Caxton, with cuts,* 10. *Hen.* 7. *Weſtmynſtre.* } 1495.
4. *Walter Hylton's ſcale of perfection, printed in William Caxton's houſe.* } 1495.
5. *Meditations of St. Bernard, tranſlated from Latin into Engliſh by a devout ſtudent of the univerſity of Cambridge, and has been put to be imprynted by W. de W.* 4to. *Weſtmynſter the* ix. *of March.* } 1496.

[1] He and his Succeſſor *Richard Pinſon* printed above 40 year-books, which are in *Lincoln's-Inn* Manuſcript-library, being inſcrib'd *Libri manuſcripti.*

5. *A compendyouſe treatiſe, dialogue of Dives and Pauper, viz. the ryche and the poore, fructuouſly treatynge upon the tenne commaundements, emprynted at Weſtmonſtre,* 111. *Decembre.* } 1496.

6. *Treatyſes pertaynynge to hawkynge and huntynge, and a treatyſe of cotarmours.* ibid. } 1496.

7. *Nicholas Uptonus Sarisberienſis canonicus, & ſcriptor haraldicus: de re haraldica Anglicé. Weſtmynſter.* } 1496.

8. *Frute of tymes, compyled and emprynted by one ſometyme Scholemayſter of Saynt Albons; and in* 1497 *emprinted at Weſtmeſtre.* } 1497.

9. *Contemplation of ſinners, for every day in the week, a ſingular meditation, compyled at the requeſt of Richard Lord Biſhop of Dureſme, Lord Privie ſeal of England, by dit.* ib. 4to. *July* 10. } 1499.

10. *Jo. Gubriand. ſinonima.* 4to. 1500.

11. *The Hill of perfection intituled in Latin, Mons Perfectionis, writen by John Alcocke, Biſhop of Ely, by ditto,* ibid. 4to. } 1501.

12. *Vobabula Magiſtri Stanbrigi.* 1501.

13. *The Ordinary of Chriſten men.* 4to. 1502.

14. *Hore Beate Marie Virginis, cum fig.* printed upon Vellum. 1502.

15. *John Gerſon's three books of the Imitation of Chriſt, tranſlated into Engliſh, by Will. Atkinſon,* DD. *at King Henry* VII*th's Mother's deſire.* } 1502.

16. *Aeſopi fabulæ, cum comm.* 1503.

18. *The boke of the Recules of the ſiege of Troy, emprynted in London in Fleetſtreet, at the ſign of the Sonne, with figures.* } 1503.

19. *Garlandia vocabulorum interpretatio.* 1505.

20. *The Ordinarye of Chriſten men.* 1506.

21. *Ars moriendi, that is the craft to dye, for the health of man's ſoul, by ditto.* 4to. } 1506.

22. *The caſtle of honour, a poem.* 1506.

23. *The Feſtival, or ſermons on ſondays and holidais, taken out of the Golden Legende,* 4to. } 1508.

24. *The book of carving.* 1508.

25. *The golden legende, reprinted.* 4to. 1508.

26. *The parliament of devils.* 1509.

27. *The court of ſapience, a poem.* 1510.

28. *Demands joyous.* 1511.

29. *Promptuarium parvul. clericor.* 4to. 1512.

30. *Hiſtory of Hilyas, knight of the ſwans, with figures, on parchment.* 4to. } 1512.

31. *Bucolica Virgilii.* 1512.

32. *The long Accydence.* 1513.

33. *The fruit of redemption. Approved by Richard, biſhop of London.* 1514.

34. *Liber Theodeli, cum comm.* 4to. 1515.

35 *Expoſitio Sequentiarum ſecundum uſum Sarum.* 1515.

36. *The Chronicle of the world, or the fruit of time, in 7 books.* 1515.

37. *Virgilii bucolica, cum comm. 2d. edition.* 1516.

38. *Seneca de 4 virtutibus cardinalibus.* 1516.

39. *Ortus vocabulorum alphabetico ordine ferè omnia quæ in catholicon, Breviloquio, cornucopia, gemma vocabulorum atque medullâ grammaticæ ponuntur; cum vernaculæ linguæ Anglicanæ expoſitione continens, impreſſus per Wincandum de Worde, ac in urbe in parochia Sanctæ Brigidæ* (de Fleteſtrete) *ad ſignum ſolis moram trahentem,* 4to. } 1516.

40. *Fa-*

40. *Fabulæ Æſopi, cum comm.* 4to. 1516.

41. *Rob. Whittintoni Litchfield. gramm. lucub.* 4to. 1517.

42. *Parabole Alami, cum comm.* 1517.

43. *Sulpitius Verulamus de moribus puerorum.* 1518.

44. *Whittintonus de concin. gram. conſtruct.* 1518.

45. ——— *de* 8 *partibus orat.* 4to. 1519.

46. *Familiaria colloquia Eraſmi.* 1519.

47. *The Orcharde of Syon, with the revelations of Saynt Catherine of Sene, tranſlated by Dane James, at the coſt of maſter Richard Sutton* [1], *Steward of the monaſtery of Sion.* 1519.

48. *The paſſion of our Lord, tranſlated from the French, by Andrew Chertſey, Gent.* 1519.

49. *The dietary of ghoſtly health.* 1520.

50. *Hiſtory of England.* fol. 1520.

51. *Vocabula Magiſtri Stanbrigi* (2*d Edition*) 1521.

52. *Whittintonus de nominum generibus.* 1521.

53. *Vulgaria Rob. Whittintoni Lichfeldienſis.* 1521.

54. *The mirrour of the Church of St. Edmond of Abyndon.* 1521.

55. *The flower of the commaundments of God, with many examples and authorities drawn out of the holy ſcriptures and ancient Doctors, tranſlated out of French.* fol. 1521.

56. *Whittintonus de ſyllabarum quantitate.* 1522.

57. ——— *lucubrationes.* 1523.

58. ——— *Verborum præterita & ſupina.* 1524.

[1] Founder of the *Charter-houſe*.

59. ——— *Declinationes nominum.* 1524.

60. *Roberti Wakefeldi oratio de utilitate ling. Arabicæ & Hebraicæ.* 4to. [1] 1524.

61. *Vulgaria Rob. Whitintoni.* (2d Edition) 1525.

62. *The image of love.* 1525.

63. *Whitintonus de heteroclitis nominibus.* 1526.

64. *The lives of the three kings of Colein,* 4to. 1526.

65. *The mirrour of gold for a ſinful ſoul, tranſlated out of the French by the ryght excellent Princeſſe Margaret Mother to King Hen. 7. Counteſs of Richmond and Derbie.* 4to. 1526.

66. *The golden legende, wherein beene contayned all the high feaſts of our Lord, and of our Ladie, the lives, paſſions, and many other miracles of many other ſaintes hiſtories, finiſhed the 27th of Auguſt.* fol. 1527.

67. *Whitintoni vulgaria, & de inſtit. gram.* 4to. 1527.

68. ——— *de ſyllabarum quantitate.* 1528.

69. ——— *lucubrationes. 2d. edit.* 1529.

70. ——— *ſyntaxis.* 1529.

71. ——— *de partibus orationum.* 1529.

72. *Conſtitutiones Othonis.* 8vo. 1529.

73. *The miracles of our Ladie.* 4to. 1530

74. *Grad. Comparat. cum verb. anomal.* 1530.

75. *Parvulorum. inſt. ex Stranbrig. collect.* 1530.

[1] The Author excuſes himſelf to the king [*Hen.* VIII.] to whom he dedicates this ſpeech, that he is forced to omit one third part of it for want of *Hebrew* types, which he ſays his Printer had none of; and it is very probable that there were none as yet in *England*, ſince nothing of that nature had been attempted, that ever I could hear of; no doubt the Author made enquiry whether any ſuch types were in *England*, before he reſolv'd to let it go maim'd of its beſt and moſt curious part. I have ſeen this book, and find the *Arabic* and *Hebrew* types cut on wood.

76. *The*

76. *The pilgrimage of perfection.* fol. 1531.
77. *The plowman's prayer and complaint.* 1531.
78. *Abby of the Holy Ghoſt.* 4to. 1531.
79. *Bonaventure's leſſons.* 4to. 1532.
80 *Life of Edward the confeſſor.* 4to. 1533.
81. *Virgil's Bucolica, Lat.* 4to. 1533.
82. *Whitintoni ſyntaxis.* 8vo. 1533.
83. ——— *de Heteroclitis.* 4to. 1533.
84. *A work for houſholders and governours of families, &c.* 4to. 1533.
85. *Life of Hildebrande.* 1534.
86. *The Roſary of our Saviour Jeſus.* 4to. 1536.

Books Printed by W. de WORDE. without dates.

1. *The life of Johan Picus, earl of Myrandula.*
2. *Bartholom. de proprietatibus, or the proprieties of things.*
3. *Donatus minor ad Anglican. ſcholar. uſum.*
4. *The roſe and mirrour of conſolation and comfort.* 4to.
5. *Vulgaria Stanbrigi.*
6. *Whitinton. de 8 partib. orat.* 4to.
7. *Quæſtiones magiſtri Alberti de modis ſignificandi, by W. de Worde in Fleet-ſtreet.*
8. *Nichodemus's goſpel, with other tracts,* 4to.
9. *Gradus comparationis, &c.* 8vo.
10. *The book named the Royal, Engliſh'd by Caxton.*
11. *Sermones declamati coram Univer. Cantab. per Steph. Baron.*
12. A treatiſe call'd *Parvula* in *Caxton*'s houſe.

13. *Ac-*

13. *Accidence. Weſtmuſtre.* ibid. in *Caxton*'s houſe. *Remov'd into Fleet-ſtreet at the Sun.*

14. *A morning remembrance had at the month-mind of the noble Princeſs Margareth, Counteſs of Richmond and Derby, Mother to King Henry* VII. *To which is added a funeral ſermon to King Henry* VII. *his body being preſent, preached May* 10, 1509, *by John Lord biſhop of Rocheſter, and printed at the ſpecial requeſt of the Counteſs of Richmond, the mother of the deceaſed.*

15. *A ſhort treatiſe of contemplation taught by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, or taken out of Margery Kempe of Lynn.*

16. *The life of Joſeph of Arimathy, taken out of a book found by Theodoſius the Emperor in Jeruſalem, in the pretory of Pilate.*

17. *The comfort againſt tribulations.*

18. *Richard Rolle, hermit, of Hampull's contemplation of the dread and love of God; with other divers titles.*

19. *The meditations of St. Bernard.*

20. *A little inſtruction out of St. Jerom, drawn by Tho. Botton.*

21. *Hornodeus, or the remorſe of conſcience, a poem.*

22. *The Abbaye of the Holy Ghoſt, with* 29 *ghoſtly ladies in it.* [i. e. *a good conſcience*] *printed at Weſtminſter.*

23. *The lamentation of our Lady.*

24. *A collection from Gerſon and ſeveral authors, by Tho. Botton.*

25. *The Bewge of court, a poem.*

26. *Againſt peſtilence, and of infirmities.*

27. *Stans puer ad menſam.*

28. *Biſhop Groſsbead's treatiſe of husbandry, or rather a tranſlation of his out of the French.*

29. *The life of Robert the devil, afterwards called the ſervant of the Lord.*

30. *The*

30. *The hiſtory of Jacob and his twelve ſons.*

31. *The proverbs of Lydgate, a poem upon the fall of princes.*

32. *King Edward, and Robin Hoode, and Little John.*

33. *The aſſembly of the gods.*

34. *The merry jeſt of the Fryer and the Boy.*

35 *How the plowman learn'd his Paternoſter, a poem.*

36. *The Churl and the Bird, a poem.*

37. *The Horſe, and Sheep, and the Gooſe, a poem.*

38. *The governal of health.*

39. *The eleven grammars by Winken de Worde.*

THIS curious piece is in the Lord *Pembroke*'s library, and has ſome obſervations written on a blank page at the beginning, which are to this effect; , The eleven grammars printed by *Winken de Worde*, who , was the 2d Printer in *Weſtminſter*, he lived afterwards within the walls , of *London*, at the ſign of the *Sun* in *Fleet-ſtreet*. *Richard Pinſon*, af- , terwards his worthy ſucceſſor, and he printed above 40 year books , which are in *Lincoln's Inn* Manuſcript library; they being inſcribed , *Libri Manuſcripti*. He was ſon-in-law to *Caxton*, who firſt printed , at *Weſtminſter* in the Almonry beyond *Weſtminſter*-School. Theſe , eleven grammars were all printed above 100 years before *Lily*'s gram- , mar, and appear to be the foundation of his.

WE ſhall have occaſion to give a further account of theſe year-books, when we come to ſpeak of *R. Pinſon*, who continued printing them a conſiderable time after *Winken de Worde*'s death. As for the eleven grammars they are in one volume in the form of a very ſmall quarto and neatly printed, and it is judiciouſly obſerved that they were printed above a century before that famous one of *Lylly*, which has been thought (and is ſtill, by thoſe who never heard of this edition,) to be the firſt grammar that ever was printed in *England*.

FROM

FROM this large catalogue of *Winken de Worde*'s works, it is plain that he muſt have been an indefatigable Printer; and that the chaſms that frequently happen in ſome years muſt be owing to the books being either loſt, or as yet undiſcover'd; but more probably the former: and whoever conſiders that the greateſt part of them were either ſchool-books, claſſics, prayer-books, *&c.* (beſides a vaſt number of popiſh ones, which might daily periſh ſoon after the Reformation) and of how ſhort duration the former are in the hands of ſchool-boys and devotees ſuch as that age abounded with, will rather wonder that ſo great a number of them have eſcaped the common fate of ſuch performances. So that we may juſtly conclude, that the preſervation of theſe books is more owing to the character and excellency of the Printer than of the authors, and to the neatneſs and correctneſs of the work, rather than the goodneſs or uſefulneſs of the ſubject. After he was removed from *Weſtminſter* to *London*, we do not hear of any other Printers at the former; if there were any, they were ſuch whoſe works and memory in all probability died with, or ſoon after them.

The City of LONDON, MCCCCLXXXI.

THO' *Richard Pinſon* be the firſt known Printer that ſet up his Preſs in this famous city, and all former annaliſts have ranked it in their liſt from his firſt edition, 1493; yet father *Orlandi* has ſince diſcover'd to us a much more antient one which was printed in *London*, *anno* 1481, that is 12 years before the former; which makes me hope that time may ſtill diſcover more, if not of older date, yet at leaſt to fill up the chaſm between this and the firſt of *Pinſon*. For it is ſcarce to be ſuppoſed that *Weſtminſter* ſhould begin ſo ſoon to encourage the art, as we have ſeen in the laſt article, and that *London* ſhould wholly neglect it. However, be that how it will, it is certain that if it was but ſlow in receiving it, it made ample amends for it afterwards, and that *Pinſon* and *De Worde*, when he removed thither, gave a new life to it; ſo that in a little time there were ſeveral conſiderable Printing-houſes ſet up in the moſt convenient parts of this large metropolis, wherein

wherein it has flouriſhed and improved ever ſince. Some of thoſe eminent Printers received likewiſe great encouragement from the Crown, particularly by patents for printing of Bibles, and other works, of which I ſhall give an account under the names of the Printers to whom they were granted.

N.B. As *Caxton* printed all his works in the old letter, and *W. de Worde* in a mix'd character of Roman and Black, we have diſtinguiſh'd their works in the two former catalogues, from thoſe that follow, by printing them in Italic: but, as the Roman types became by this time more common, we ſhall give the liſt of the following Printers works in that character.

THIS antient and curious edition above mention'd is as follows;

Valdeſius ſuper Pſalterium Londini. 1481.

I. RICHARD PINSON. Anno MCCCC XCIII.

RICHARD PINSON, *alias* PYNSON, is the firſt known Printer in the city of *London*, no edition having been hitherto diſcover'd, except that anonymous one mention'd above, of older date than his dialogue of *Dives* and *Pauper* in 1493. Beſides, as we have about 15 editions of his that are without date, we may more reaſonably ſuppoſe that they were printed before than after this year, in which he began to put a date. He was brought up under Mr. *Caxton*, as well as *Winken de Worde*, and being become a thorough maſter of the art, went and ſet up a Preſs of his own at *Temple-bar*, as the inſcription of his firſt edition ſhews. The friendſhip which he had contracted with *De Worde*, whilſt theſe two wrought under *Caxton*, was ſo far from being diſturb'd by any mutual emulation or rivalſhip, that it continued to their death; and it is thought that after their maſter's death, *Pynſon* prevail'd upon him to leave *Weſtminſter*, and to come and ſettle nearer to him, which he accordingly did. What makes this more than probable is, that the laſt edition of *Caxton* is dated, as we have ſhewn, *anno* 1502, and the firſt that *De Worde* printed in *London*, as far as we have been able to diſcover, is dated 1503. Theſe two were joined in

the Printing of the king's year-books, as long as *De Worde* lived, which were afterwards continued by *Pinſon*; and this is a ſufficient teſtimony of his having been an excellent Printer, were there nothing elſe to aſſure us of it: for it is not to be ſuppos'd that he would have aſſociated himſelf to any other. *Pynſon* ſtiles himſelf Printer to the king in ſome of his editions, probably from a grant he had for the printing of thoſe year-books above mention'd. For we neither find that he printed any bibles, or other books, for which patents were granted by the crown. I don't find that he uſed any rebus, but he either printed his name at length, or elſe only the two initial letters R. P. The liſt of his works is nothing ſo copious as thoſe of his aſſociate, tho' he continued Printing at leaſt 34 years, as appears from the dates of his firſt and laſt edition, which makes me conclude that a great part of them are loſt. Thoſe I have been able to recover are as follow;

1. Dialogue of *Dives* and *Pauper* upon the X Commandements, emprinted by *Richard Pynſon* at *Temple-bar* of *London*, V. day of *July*. } 1493.
2. Sulpitii Verulami opus grammaticum. *4to.* 1494.
3. *Boetius*'s Fall of Princes, *&c.* by *John Lydgate*, Monk of *St. Edmund's Bury*. } 1494.
4. *Gerſon*'s Imitation of Xt. *Engliſh'd* by *Atkinſon*. 4to. 1503.
5. *Navis ſtultifera*, or the ſhip of fools; done into *Engliſh* by *Barclay*. fol. } 1509.
6. Liber intrationum. 1510.
7. An Expoſition of the 7 penitential Pſalms, compyled by the Ryghte Reverende Fader in God *Johan. Fyffer* D. D. *&c.* Bp. of *Rocheſter*, at the Exortation and Storyinge of the moſt Excellente Prynceſſe *Margaret*, Counteſſe of *Rychemont* and *Darby*, and Moder to our Soveraigne Lord King *Henry* the Seventh, on whoſe Soule Jeſu have Mercy. } 1510.
8. *John Beckham*, Arch. *Cant. de ſumma Trinitat. & Fide Cathol.* 1510.

9. *Colet*,

9 *Colet*, Dean of *Paul's* Sermon to the Convocation. *Lat.* 8*vo.* 1511.

10. The Hiſt. Siege & Deſtruction of *Troy*, *Engliſh'd* by *J. Lidgate*, with Cuts. } 1513.

11. Textus Alexandri, *&c.* 1516.

12. The Kalendre of the newe Legende of *Englande*, compyled by Maſter *Walter Hylton*, emprynted at *London* in *Fleteſtrete*, at the ſigne of the *George*, by *Richard Pinſon*, Prynter unto the King's Noble Grace, in the Yere of our Lorde God 1516, and endy'd in the laſt Day of *Februar*y. } 1516.

13. Guil. Hormain. Vulgaria. 4to. 1519.

14. The Life of St. *Verburge*. *Virg.* 4to. 1521.

15. Aſſertio Septem Sacramentorum adverſus *Martn. Luther.* edita ab invictiſſimo *Angliæ* & *Franciæ* Rege, & de *Hyberniâ Henrico* hujus Nominis octavo. Apud inclytam urbem *Londinum* in ædibus *Pinſonianis*, an. M. D. XXI. quarto Idus *Julii*, Cum privilegio a rege indulto. Editio prima. } 1521.

16. *Cutberd.* Tonſtalis Ars ſupputandi. 4to. 1522.

17. *Froiſſard*'s firſt Volume. 4to. 1523.

18. *Powel*'s Propugnaculum ſummi Sacerdotii contra *Lutherum*. 4to. } 1523.

19. *Tho. Linacr.* de emendata Latini Sermonis ſtructura. 4to. 1524.

20. *Froiſſard*'s ſecond Volume. 4to. 1525.

21. *Whittintoni* Vulgaria & de Inſtitutione partium. 4to. 1525.

22. Olde Tenurs newly corrected. 1525.

23. Accidence. 1526.

24. Magna Charta. 8vo. 1527.

25. The Book of *John Bochas* on the Fall of Princes, *Engliſh'd.* 1527.

26. Literarum quibus, &c. or K. *Henry* VIII's Epiſtolary Anſwers to *Luther*. 8vo. } 1527.

Thoſe that follow are without date.

1. *Saluſt* tranſlated by Syr *Alexander Barclay*, Prieſt, at the Commaundement of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*.
2. *Littleton*'s Teners newe corrected.
3. Natura Brevium.
4. *Tonney*'s Rules of Grammar, *&c.*
5. How yong Scholers now adays emboldened in the Flyblown Blaſt of the moch vayne glorious pipplying Wind, whan they have delectably lycked a lytell of the lycorous Electurry of luſty Lernyng, in the moche ſtudious Scole Houſe of ſcrupulous Philology, countyng themſelfs Clerkes excellently informed, & tranſcendingly ſped in moche high conyng, & whan they have ones ſuperciliouſly caught. By *Skelton* Poets Laureat. By *R. Pynſon*.
6. *Littleton*'s Tenures. *French*.
7. *Barclay*'s Figure of Mother Church oppreſs'd by the *Fr.* King. 4to.
8. The Ch. of Evil Men, where Lucifer is head, *&c.* 8vo.
9. *Henry* VIII's Anſwer to *M. Luther*. 8vo.
10. *Bonaventure*'s Life of J. Chriſt, tranſlat. by *Caxton*, & reprinted. fol.
11. The Life of St. *Alborow Virg.* 4to.
12. A Sermon preach'd long ago at *Paul's Croſs*, *He that hath Ears to hear*, &c. 4to.
13. The Mirrour of good Manners, *&c.* fol.
14. Speculum Vitæ Chriſti, or Mirrour of the Life of Chriſt.
15. The Deſtruction of *Hieruſalem* by *Veſpatian* and *Titus*. Printed by *Richd. Pinſon* the King's Printer.

Be-

BESIDES these he printed a considerable number of Year, or Law-Books that pass'd under several Kings Reigns, as was hinted before; some with *Winken de Worde*, and others after his death; some with the dates of the Year and Month in which they were printed, and his name at the end, and some without either. However, it must be observed that a great part of the oldest of them have the name ΓΟΥΛΙΕΛΜΟΣ ΡΑΣΤΕΛΛ (*Guilelmus Rastell*) written at the head, by which we conjecture that they only printed them for him. For *Rastel* was Printer to the King, and a very considerable person at that time, and in great credit at Court upon the account of his having marry'd Sir *Thomas More*'s Sister. So that it is very likely he had the Privilege of printing all these Royal Books, and gave them a sanction by prefixing his name to them, whilst the others only acted under him. What seems to confirm it, is that those earlier ones with *Pynson*'s name mention only *Ex Officinâ Pynsonianâ*; whereas in those of later date he calls himself Printer to his Majesty, in which Office he probably succeeded *Rastell*, who died according to Dr. *Nicholson*, *an.* 1536. Thus at the end of the 2d Edition of that of the 2 of *Edward* IV. We find this Colophon, *Explicit annus 2dus* Ed. iiij. *Townsend de novo impressus in Academia, &c. ac Impensis honesti viri* Richardi Pynson *Regii Impressoris.* These Year-Books were of different Bulks, tho' all Folio's, some of them containing but 4 or 5, others 10, 20, 50, and even as far as 90 Sheets. They are as follows;

Years of *Edward* III. 7th, 21, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43. 2d Edition, ditto 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50.
——— *Henry* VI. 2, 8, 9, 10, 12, 20, 21, *&c.*
——— *Edward* IV. 1, 2, 3, *&c.*
——— *Edward* V. 1.
——— *Richard* III. 2.
——— *Henry* VII. 9.
——— *Henry* VIII. 14.

WHETHER those that are wanting in the List are lost, or were printed by others, we cannot affirm, but more probably the latter; because

cauſe we find ſome few printed by *Graſton*, &c. But, as theſe are only of uſe to the Lawyers, this Specimen ſhall ſuffice. Thoſe who want a more particular account of them, may have recourſe to the *Lincoln's-Inn*-Library, where they are carefully preſerv'd in a large wooden Cheſt.

II. WILLIAM FANQUE. MDIV.

William Fanque ſtiles himſelf the King's Printer in the only Edition I have been able to find of his, *viz.*

Pſalterium ex mandato victorioſiſſimi *Angliæ* Regis *Henrici* Septimi.

Per *Guillelmum Fanque*, Impreſſorem regium anno MDIIII. ſeptimo *Februarii*.

III. JULIAN NOTARY. MDXV.

We have two Editions of the ſame work printed by him, *viz.*

1. The Chronicle of *England*, with the fruit of Tymes, *newly imprinted by me* Julian Notary, *dwelling in St.* Powlis *Church-yard, beſyde the Weſt-dore by the Lordes Palyeſe.* fol. in the yere MCCCCC & XV. } 1515.

2. The ſame with Cuts, &c. reprinted an. 1537.

IV. HENRY PEPWELL. MDXXI.

The Dietary of ghoſtly health divided into twenty four Conſiderations. 4to. *London*, by *Henry Pepwel.* } 1521.

V. PETER TREVERIS. MDXXV.

Who lived in *Southwark*, and ſubſcribed the place of his abode as follows; Dwelling in the ſign of the Wodow's in *Southwark*. We have but the three following Editions of his.

1. *Jherom* of *Brunſwick*'s Surgery. fol. 1525.
2. The *Polichronicon* corrected by *Winken de Worde*. fol. 1527.
3. The great Herbal, with Cuts. fol. 1527.

VI. THO-

VI. THOMAS BERTHELET. MDXXX.

T. Berthelet was Printer and Bookſeller to K. *Henry* VIII. had a Patent for printing the *Engliſh* Bible, and ſome other Books relating to the King's Divorce; the firſt of which has the following pompous Title.

1. Graviſſimæ atque exactiſſimæ illuſtriſſimarum totius *Italiæ* & *Galliæ* Academiarum Cenſuræ, efficaciſſimis etiam quorundam Doctiſſimorum Virorum Argumentationibus explicatæ, de Veritate illius propoſitionis, *videlicet*; quod ducere Relictam Fratris mortui ſine liberis ita ſit de Jure Divino & Naturali prohibitum, ut nullus Pontifex ſuper hujuſmodi Matrimoniis contractis ſive contrahendis diſpenſare poſſit. } 1530.
In Officina Thomæ Berthleti *Impreſſoris Regii.* 4to. Londini, *menſe* Aprili, An. }
2. The ſame in *Engliſh*, tranſlated and publiſhed by the King's Command, & printed by *T. Berthlet.* } 1531.
3. The ſame in *Latin* and *Engliſh.* 8vo. by ditto. 1531.
4. The New Additions, by ditto. 1531.
5. *Salem* and *Bizance*, a Dialogue againſt Sir *Tho. Moore*'s Apology. 8vo. } 1533.
6. A Treatiſe writen by *Johan. Valerian*, a greatte Clerke of *Italy*, which is intitled in *Latin*, *pro Sacerdotum Barbis*, tranſlated into *Englyſhe*, with a Preface of the Tranſlatour to the Reader. 8vo. } 1533.
Londin. in Ædibus *Tho. Berthleti.* }

This is a ſcarce and curious Piece. [1]

[1] At the End of the Book is the Picture of *Lucrece*, with theſe Words in Capitals,
LUCRETIA ROMANA.
THOMAS BERTHELETUS.
Then follow theſe Words;
Endleſs Grace, Blyſſe, Thankyng and Prayſing unto our Lord God Omnipotent, by whoſe Ayde and Helpe this Tranſlation was ended at Berkeley, the VI daye of Feverer, the yere of *our Lorde*, M CCC LXXXXVII. *the yere of Kyng* Richard *the Second after the Conqueſt* XXII. *the yere of My Lordes Age Syre* Thomas Berkeley, that made me make this Tranſlation XLVII.

7. De

7. De Contemptu Mundi, or Contempt of the World. 8vo. 1533.

8. Sir *Thomas Knight*'s Tranſlation of *Cyprian*'s Sermon on Mortality. 8vo. } 1534.

9. Additions to *Salem* & *Bizance*. 8vo. 1534.

10. *Matthews*'s Sermon at St. *Paul*'s. 8vo. 1535.

11. Barthol. de Proprietatibus Rerum. Cum Privilegio a Rege indulto. Tranſlated into *Engliſh*. fol. } 1535.

12. Dives & Pauper, a Dialogue on the 10 Comm. reprinted. 8vo. } 1536.

13. Compariſon of a Virgin and a Marry'd Woman. 8vo. 1537.

14. Sturmius's Epiſtle to the Cardinals and Biſhops of *Rome*. 8vo. 1538.

15. A Treatiſe, that by the King's Laws the Biſhops of *Rome* have no Supremacy in *England*. 8vo. } 1538.

16. The Moſt Sacred Byble, which is the holy Scripture, conteyning the Old and New Teſtament, tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and newly recogniſed with great diligence after moſt faithful Exemplars by *Richard Taverner*. *Dedicated to* K. Henry VIII. *with decent Humility*. Prynted at *London* in *Fleet ſtreet* at the ſygne of the *Sonne*, by *John Byddel* for *Thomas Barthlet*.

At the End are theſe Words;

To the honour and praiſe of God was this Byble prynted and fyniſhed in the yere of our Lorde God. M D XXXIX. } 1539.

A very ſcarce Edition.

17. St. *Cyprian*'s Expoſition of the Lord's Prayer, &c. 8vo. 1539.

18. *Henry* Ld. *Parker*'s Declaration of the 94th Pſalm. 8vo. 1539.

19. *Tonſtal*, Biſhop of *Dureſm*'s Sermons. 8vo. 1539.

20. Of *Guaccum* Wood againſt the *French* Pox, Stone, and Gout, 8vo. } 1539.

21. *Ri-*

21. *R. Taverner*'s Recognition of the Bible. fol. 1539.
22. *Frontine*'s Stratagems of War, *Engliſh'd.* 8vo. 1539.
23. The neceſſary Erudition of a Chriſten Man, &c. 1543.
24. *Cope*'s Hiſtory of *Hannibal* and *Scipio.* 4to. 1544.
25. St. *Tho. Eliot*'s Banquet of Sapience. 8vo. 1545.
26. *Aut. Gisbie*'s Anſwer to *Steph. Gardiner*, Bp. of *Wincheſter.* 8vo. 1547.
27. *Eraſmus*'s Sermon on God's Mercy. 8vo. 1547.

The following are without date.

1. Dean *Colet*'s Sermon to the Convocation. 8vo.
2. *Tho. Starkey*'s Exhortation to the People to Unity, *&c.*
3. A Dialogue between a Knight and a Clarck about Power.
4. *Eraſmus*'s treatiſe on *Pater Noſter. Engliſh'd by a Young Wm.* 19 Years old. 4to.
5. *Ricardi Sampſonis* Regii Sacelli Decani Oratio contra Papam. 4to. in Pergam.

VII. WILLIAM RASTEL, Printer to the King, as was mention'd before, was an eminent Citizen of *London*, and a good Hiſtorian. We find an *Engliſh* Chronicle of his quoted by *Athen. Oxonienſ. John Petit*, and other antient Hiſtorians, but now loſt, in Dr. *Nicholſon*'s Opinion. He liv'd in St. *Bride*'s Church-Yard, *Fleet-ſtreet.* MDXXX.

1. A Dialogue of Sir *Tho. More* touching the peſtilent doctrine of *Luther* and *Tyndal.* Prented by *Willyam Raſtel.* fol. *Lond.* } 1530.
2. Regiſtrum Omnium brevium tam Originalium quam judicialium. *Londini* apud *Guillelmum Raſtel.* Cum privilegio. } 1531.

At the Beginning of the Book are theſe Words printed in Capitals;

Hunc librum Regiis litteris ne quis alius in hoc Regno impune imprimat infra ſeptennium cautum eſt.

At the End of the Book thus;

Thus endyth thys Book callyd the Regyſter of the Wrytyngs orygynal and judycyal. Prentyd at *London* by *Wyllyam Raſtell*, and it is to ſell in *Fleet ſtreet*, at the houſe of the ſayde *Wyllyam*, or in *Poulys* Chyrch yarde, or els at *Temple-bar*, at the houſe of *Robert Redman*. Cum privilegio.

3. The ſecond part of the Confutation of *Tyndal*'s Anſwer by Sir *Tho. More*. Prentyd by *W. Raſtel.* fol. } 1533.

4. *Fabyan*'s Chronycle newly prentyd. Cum privilegio. 1533.

5. A merry Play between the Pardoner and the Frere, the Curate and Neighbour *Patte*. 4to. } 1533.

6. The Apologye of Syr *Thomas More* Knyght. 1533.

Without date.

1. *German Gardiner*'s Letter againſt *John Fryth* lately burnt. 8vo.

2. A New Commodye in *Englyſh*, in manner of an interlude, ryght elegant and full of Craft and Rethoryke, wherein is ſhew'd and deſcrybed as well the Bewte and good properties of Women as their Vices.

VIII. ROBERT REDMAN, againſt St. *Dunſtan*'s Church in *Fleet-ſtreet*. MDXXXIII.

1. A playne and godly Expoſition or Declaration of the Crede, (which in the *Latin* tongue is called *Symbolum Apoſtolorum*) and of the X Commandementes of Goddes Law.

Newly

Newly made and put forth by the famouſe Clerke Mayſter ERASMUS of *Roterdame*. At the Requeſte of the moſte honorable Lorde, *Thomas* Erle of *Wyltſhyre*: Father to the moſt gratious and vertuous Quene *Anne*, Wyf to our moſt gratyous Lorde Kinge *Henry* the viii. *Cum privilegio*. 1533.

At the End thus;

Imprinted at *London* in *Flete ſtrete* by me *Robert Redman*, dwellynge at the ſigne of the *George*, next to Saynt *Dunſtone*'s Churche. *Cum privilegio Regali*.

2. *Otho* and *Othobone*'s Provincial Conſtitutions. 8vo. 1534.

3. Mirrour of Xt's Paſſion, tranſlated by *John Fruterer*. fol. 1534.

4. Sum of Xtianity out of the Scriptures. 8vo. 1536.

5. *Eraſmus* in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. 4to. 1538.

6. *Magna Carta* in *French*, whereunto is added more Statuts than ever was imprynted in any one Boke before this tyme: with an Alminacke & a Calender to know the Mootes. Neceſſarye for all young Studiers of the Lawe.

At the End thus, 1539.

Here endeth *Magna Charta*, and divers other Statutes. Imprynted at *London* in *Fleetſtreet* by me *Robert Redman* dwellynge at the ſygne of the *George* next to Saynt *Dunſtones* Church. 1539. in 12mo. in the Front 1529.

7. *John Standiſh* againſt the Proteſtation of *Robert Barnes* at the time of his Death, by the Widow of *Robert Redman*. 1540.

Without date.

1. Confeſſion exhibited by the *Germans* to the Emperor *Charles* V. with *Milington*'s Apology for it. 8vo.

2. Of the Lives of Prieſts, Canons, Clerks, and Church-Miniſters. 8vo.

3. Sermon on the Child Jeſus. 8vo.

4. Lantorn of Light. 8vo.

5. A Book of Medicine of King *Boetius*. 4to.

6. *Littletons* Tenures.

7. The Paradox of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, tranſlated lately out of the *Latin* Tongue into *Engliſh* by *Robert Whittinton* Poet Laureat.

8. *Tho. Moulton* Doctoure of Dyvynyte, of the Order of *Frere-Preachours* Myrrour or Glaſſe of Helthe, neceſſary for every perſone to look in that will kepe theyr body frome Sycknes of the Peſtilence. 8vo.

The Author tells us that he wrote this Treatiſe whilſt the plague raged.

9. Returna Brevium, vel ſi mavis, Reſcripta Vice Comitum cum aliis ſcitû dignioribꝰ. 8vo.

At the End, *Rob. Redman me fecit.*

10. *Littleton*'s Tenures.

11. A Work for Houſholders, by *Rich. Whitford.*

12. The Year-Books printed by him are as follows;

24	of *Edward* III.	25	Sheets ½
40	———————	26	

And above 30 more.

At the End are the Words following;

Imprimé a *Londres* par moy *Robert Redman* le X. jour de *Marche* l'an de grace M CCCCC XXXIII. Cum privilegio Regali.

IX. JOHN BYDDEL. M D XXXIV.

JOHN BIDDEL is the Printer mention'd above, p. 360. who printed the great *Engliſh* Bible for *Berthelet*; his Printing-houſe was at the ſign of our Lady of *Piſe* next to *Fleet-bridge:* his *Rebus* was a Heart pierc'd with

with a double Croſs, on each ſide of which within were the two initial letters of his name I. B. to which he ſometimes added his name at length, JOHN BIDDEL.



1. Of the olde God and the new, of the olde Fayth and the newe, of the olde Doctryne and the newe, or the original Begyning of Idolatry; imprinted at *London* by *John Byddle*, at the Sign of our Lady of *Piſe*, *&c.* M VC XXXIIIJ. the XX day of *June*. } 1534.

2. *Rob. Whittingtonus* de nominum Gener. 4to. 1536.

3. A Bible in *Engl.* fol. Printed by him for *Berthelet.* 1539.

4. Of the olde and new God, olde and new Fayth, *&c.* 8vo. 1539.

5. *Cupito*'s Prayers and Meditations on the *Pſalms*, *Eng.* 8vo. 1539.

6. A Chronicle of Yeres from the beginning of the World, wherein ye ſhall find of al the Kinges of *England*, of the Mayrs & Shiriffs of the Citie of *London*, & briefly of many notable Actes done in & ſith the reigne of Kyng *Henry* the fourth, newly augmented & corrected, *Anno Domini*, M VC XLII. by *John Biddle*. } 1542.

Without date.

1. *John Roberts* Maſter of Schiſmatick Bps. of *Rome*. 8vo.
2. A Book of Feaſts Royal and Cookery for Princes. 4to.
3. Accidentia ex Stanbrigiana Editione nuper recognita a *Whittingtono* Laureato.
4. A Seraphick Dirige of 7 Secrets granted to St. *Francis*. 8vo.
5. The Lives of Pope *Hildebrand* and *Henry* IV. Emperour of *Germany*. 8vo.

X. ROBERT WYRE. MDXXXV.

He lived at the ſign of Saynt *John the Evangelyſte* in Seynt *Martyn's* Paryſhe in the Filds beſyde *Charynge-Croſs*, in the Byſhop of *Norwytche's* Rents, as he ſays himſelf, and uſed to ſubſcribe ſome of his Works, eſpecially the Year-Books, with his name in large Capitals thus, ROBERT WYRE.

We have but one Piece of his that bears a ſure Date, which is as follows;

1. The Deffence of Peace, lately tranſlated out of *Latin* into *Englyſhe:* with the Kynges moſte gracious priviledge. *The Author, Marſilius* of *Padway. Imprynted and publiſhed, and ſet forth abrode in the* Engliſhe *tonge by* Wylliam Marſhal, *who prays for our Soveragne Lorde Kynge* Henry the Eight, *of his moſt vertuous Lady Quene* Anne, *and of the Lady Prynceſs* Elyzabeth, *Daughter and Heyre to them both.* } 1535.

N. B. *This Book appears by its date to have been publiſhed about the time when King* Henry 8. *had reſolv'd to break with the Court of* Rome. *At the End are theſe Words;*

Prynted by me *Robert Wyer* for *Wylliam Marſhal*, &c. with the King's priviledge for 6. years.

2. The Debates between the Heralds of *England* and *Fraunce*, compyled by *Jn. Coke*, Clarke of the Kynge's Recognyſances, or vulgarly called Clarke of the Statutes of the Staple of *Weſtmynſter*, and finiſhed in the year of our Lorde M D L. *At the End as follows;* } 1550.

Finiſhed by me *John Coke le dernier jour Doctobre den yaer ons here duiſſent venf hundred negen en viertick* (that is *thouſand five hundred and fourty nine.*) Finis Laudat opus. Imprinted by me *R. Wyer, &c.*

With-

Without date.

3. Ten Places of Scripture againſt the Traditions of Men. 8vo.
4. Wm. Hunnis Abridgement of Meditat. on certain Pſalms in meter. 8vo.
5. *Antitheſis* comparing the Word of God and Mens Inventions by *Th. Beacon.* 8vo.
6. *Antidotarius* or the way of making Salves, Ointments, *&c.* 8vo.
7. *Macer*'s Herbal. 8vo.
8. *Th. Linacre.* M. D. Compend. regimen of Health uſed at *Montpelier.*
9. The Caſtle of Love, tranſlated out of *Spanyſhe* into *Englyſhe*, by *John Bowrchier* Knyght, Lord *Bernes*, at the Inſtance of the Lady *Elyzabeth Carew*, which book treateth of Love betwene *Leriano* and *Laureola* Daughter to the Kinge of *Maſedonia.*
10. The Breviary of Healthe.
11. The Signs in the Zodiac.
12. Erra Pater.
13. A Piece of *Tycho Brahe* upon the Heavens.
14. A Year-Book for the 9th of *Henry* IV. printed by *Robert Wyre* dwellynge at the ſygne of St. *John* the Evangelyſt, *&c.*

XI. THOMAS GIBSON. MDXXXVI.

A Treatiſe againſt the Peſtilence, written by a *Daniſh* Bp, & Phiſician. 4to. } 1536.

XII. JAMES NICHOLSON, at *Southwark.* MDXXX.

1. Expoſition on the 1. 2. & 3 Canonical Epiſtles of St. *John.* 8vo. } 1537.

2. The

2. The New Teſtament both in *Latin* and *Englyſhe*, eche correſpondente to the other after the Vulgare Texte communely called St. *Jerome*'s, faithfully tranſlated by *Johan. Hollybuſhe*. By *James Nicholſon* dwellyng in *Southwarke*. } 1538.

3. Invectives againſt Cardinal *Wolſey*, by *L. R.* at *Weſel*. 1546.

N. B. *Maunſel* affirms it to have been printed by *Nicholſon*; no doubt but he compar'd it with ſome other of his Works, and it is certain that nothing was more common in thoſe tickliſh times than to date any dangerous Book from ſome place abroad, or to inſcribe it printed ——— beyond Sea.

4. A Treatiſe of Meaſuring, without date.

The Title runs thus,

This Book ſheweth the manner of Meaſurynge of all manner of Land, as well of Woodlande, as of Land in the Felde, and comptynge the true Nombre of Acres of the ſame, By Syr *Richard Beneſe*, Chanon of *Marton Abbay* beſyde *London*.

Printed in *Southwarke* by *James Nicholſon*.

XIII. THOMAS PETIT. MDXXXVIII.

1. *Longland* Bp. of *Lincoln*'s Sermon before the King. 4to. 1538.
2. Treaſure of poor men, a Book of good Medicine 8vo. 1540.
3. St. *Bernard*'s fruitful Treatiſe of living well. Tranſlated by *Th. Paynel*. 8vo.
4. *Chaucer*'s Works dedicated to *Henry* VIII. no date.

XIV. JOHN WAYLAND. MDXXXVIII.

1. *Nicholas Wiſe*'s Chryſtian Conſolation. 8vo. 1538.
2. *James Chanceller*'s Path to Obedience.
3. The Tragedies of *John Bochas*, tranſlated into *Engl. ſhe* by *John Lydgate*, Monke of *Bury*. } without date.

XV.

XV. RICHARD GRAFTON. MDXXXIX.

RICHARD GRAFTON, Citizen of *London*, from an indifferent Author and Hiſtorian, became a famous and eminent Printer. Among other of his works under the former character, we have his Abridgement of the Chronicle of *England*, in which he is a conſtant borrower from the bulkier work of *Edward Hall* Recorder of *London*, who wrote the Hiſtory of the Wars between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, wherein the Reader will find little worth notice, if we may believe Dr. *Nicholſon*, than the faſhions and changes of Dreſs in each King's Reign. As *Grafton* was not over judicious in the choice of this Author, ſo neither was he in the compiling of his Abridgement; in ſo much that the learned *Buchanan*, in his Hiſtory of *Scotland*, doth not ſcruple to call him *a very headleſs and unskilful Writer*, tho' he has had the honour of being quoted by *Stow*, and other Hiſtorians.

THE occaſion of his turning Printer was his being pitch'd upon to procure an Edition of *William Tyndal*, alias *Hickins* Verſion of the New Teſtament, and afterwards of his Bible reviſed and corrected by *Myles Coverdal*, a learned *Franciſcan* Fryar, well learned in the *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin* tongues. Some impreſſions of the former had already been diſperſed about *England* and elſewhere, but were bought up by *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Thomas More*, and been burnt at St. *Paul's Croſs*; and it was very dangerous to undertake the reprinting of ſuch a work in *London* upon that account. This made *Grafton* and his aſſociate *Edward Whitchurch* reſolve to get it done at *Hamburgh*, whither they likewiſe ſent *Coverdal* to correct the Preſs. This proved a very expenſive work, and the impreſſion of the Bible alone coſt them 500 *l.* a great ſum in thoſe days. When it was brought over into *England*, it met with great oppoſition from the *Romiſh* Prieſts, they having ſome time before obtain'd a Royal Proclamation, to prohibit and aboliſh that among other heretical books; and, had not *Bonner* Biſhop of *Hereford* bought up the greateſt part of the Copies in order to deſtroy them, the undertakers muſt have been infallibly ruin'd. This Edition is ſuppos'd to have been printed *anno* 1535.

His New Teſtament met with worſe fate, of which we have an authentick teſtimony extant in the Library of the Honourable Earl of *Pembroke*, *viz.* two Editions of it printed at *Antwerp* in the ſame year, *viz. anno* 1434, one of which has a Preface prefix'd to it, to juſtify that Edition, from the other of the ſame year printed under his name, but ſtrangely mutilated and miſprinted. A more particular account of which is given in the Introduction to *Wickliff*'s Bible lately publiſh'd.

Finding that a verſion of the Bible was as much deſir'd by the favourers of the Reformation, as it was cry'd down by the enemies of it, they ventur'd to print a ſecond edition of it under the patronage of Archbiſhop *Cranmer* and the Lord *Cromwell*. But *Tyndal* having been by that time burnt as a heretick in *Flanders*, and his name growing then ſomewhat ignominious, they thought fit to publiſh it under the name of *Matthews*'s Bible, tho' *Tyndal* is affirm'd to have finiſh'd all but the *Apocrypha* as ſome, or as far as *Nehemiah*, as others affirm. *Grafton* having finiſh'd the printing of it preſented it to his two great Patrons, by whom, at his requeſt, it was likewiſe preſented to the King to whom it was dedicated. It had theſe words in red letters printed at the bottom of the title-page *ſet forth with the King's moſt gracious licence.* But, as they were ſuſpected to have been foiſted in, *Grafton* obtain'd leave to have it further licenſed under the privy ſeal. Soon after this it being obſerved how acceptable an *Engliſh* Bible was to the people, ſome perſons form'd a deſign to print it in a ſmaller volume, in order to underſell *Grafton*'s, which obliged him to apply to *Cromwell*, and to obtain a patent from the King, that none ſhould print it for three years; and for the better ſale of this, that noble man did likewiſe procure him an order that every Curate of a pariſh ſhould be obliged to have one, and every Abby ſix of them; ſo that this ſecond impreſſion, wherever printed, was very ſoon bought up.

Grafton and his partners in the work obſerving that there was ſtill a call for them, reſolved to reprint it a third time, and in a larger volume, but without theſe notes and prologues which they obſerv'd had given ſome offence. *Paris* was the place pitch'd upon to print it at, and *Cromwell*, who favour'd the enterprize, procured letters from King *Henry* to the *French* King, *to permit a ſubject of his to print the* Engliſh

Bible

Bible in the univerſity of Paris, *becauſe of the goodneſs of the* French *paper and workmen.* *Bonner*, then Ambaſſador from *England* to the Court, had likewiſe orders *to aſſiſt the undertakers of that good work in all reaſonable ſuits.* *Bonner* obtain'd not only the deſir'd licence, but likewiſe letters patents for printing this Bible, and for conveying it ſafe over to *England.* This edition, being thus encourag'd, went briſkly on to the end; but *Bonner*, who never liked the work, and did only promote it to make his court to *Cromwell*, found means to obſtruct it privately, notwithſtanding the King's patents.

Accordingly, *anno* 1438, the Printers were taken up, and charged with hereſy, by order of the Faculty, and *Coverdale* the corrector, *Grafton* the Head Printer, and other *Engliſhmen*, who contributed to the charges of the impreſſion, were ſent for; but they foreſeeing the conſequences, fled away as faſt as they could, and left the whole impreſſion which was juſt finiſh'd, and conſiſted of 2500 Copies, behind them. This was immediately ſeiz'd by the Lieutenant Criminal, and order'd to be burnt, except ſome few which he ſold, through covetouſneſs, for waſte-paper, which were afterwards bought up again, being about four fats or cheſts full.

My Lord *Pembroke* favour'd me with the ſight of an *Engliſh* Bible printed in *Gothic* characters, *an.* 1537. without place or Printer's name, with theſe words at the end;

The end of the New Teſtament, and of the whole Byble.

¶ To the Honoure and Prayſe of Gode was this Byble prynted and fyneſhed in the yere of oure Lorde Gode. a M D XXXVII.

But whether this is one of them that were printed at *Paris*, or one of the former edition I cannot determine; but it is more probable to be the latter, becauſe it has a Concordance of the moſt remarkable texts of Scripture againſt the errors of Popery: whereas, as I obſerv'd before, they had ſuppreſs'd moſt things of that nature in the *Paris* one. But let this be of what edition it will, it is very probable that the Concordance proved the cauſe of the almoſt total deſtruction of it, in ſo much that I queſtion whether there be any other copy of it left except this above mention'd. However, *Grafton* and his aſſociates, by *Crom-*

well's encouragement, went ſoon after to *Paris*, and got the preſſes, letters and workmen, and brought them over to *London*, and ſo ſet up for Printers themſelves, which they never intended before, and began to reprint the ſame Bible, which they finiſh'd in 1537; an account of which you'll find in the following liſt of *Grafton*'s works.

We find a patent in *Rymer's fœdera*, vol. 17. p. 766. from King *Henry* VIII. appointing him and his partner *Whitchurch* to print the Book of divine ſervice; but, as I have not been able to meet with the Book, I have not inſerted it in the liſt. The patent is dated *Jan.* 3. 1543. *Grafton* ſtyled himſelf *Typographus Regius*. His mark or ſign was an Apple-tree ſpringing up out of a Tun, or Ton, as they ſpell'd it then, alluding to his name *Graft-ton*, with this motto *ſuſcipite inſitum verbum*, Jacob. 1. He had likewiſe a Cypher over the Tun, with the two initials of his name one in another thus.



His works are as follows.

1. The New Teſtament in *Engliſh* and *Latin*. 8vo. *London*, printed by *Rich. Grafton* and *Ed. Whitchurch*. } 1439.

2. The Bible in *Engliſh*, that is to ſay, the contents of all the holy ſcripture, both of the Old and New Teſtament, truly tranſlated out of the veryty of the *Hebrew* and *Greke textes*, by the dylygent ſtudye of dyvers excellent learned men, expert in the foreſayd tongues. Printed by *Richard Grafton* and *Edward Whitchurch*. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum ſolum. fol. *At the end is as follows*; } 1539.

Fyniſhed in *Apryll*, *Anno* M CCCC XXXIX.

The Title is adorn'd with a noble piece of Hiſtory, ſuppoſed to be done by *Holbein*, of King *Henry* 8. Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and Vicar-general *Cromwell*, with their Coats of Arms.

3. The Primmer in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. 4to. Printed in the precinct of the diſſolved houſe of Grey Fryars, by *Richard Grafton*, Printer to the Prince's Grace the VI. day of *Septemb.* M D XLIII. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum ſolum. } 1543.

4. *Plu-*

4. *Plutarch*'s Precepts for the preſervation of health. 8vo. 1543.

5. The Chronicle of *John Hardyng*, *&c.* with a Supplement in proſe. *Londini ex officina* Ric. Graftoni, *menſe Januario.* } 1543.

6. The Anſwer of *Charles fift*, *Emperour*, ever more *Auguſt*, unto the Letters Convocatory of *Paule the thyrde biſhop of Rome*, concerning a general Councel to be celebrated at *Trident.* 1543. *Ex officina* Rich. Graftoni 8vo. } 1543.
With a remarkable Preface to the Reader.

7. The Primer in *Engliſh* and *Latin.* 4to. Printed in the precincte of the diſſolved houſe of Grey Fryars, by *Richard Grafton*, Printer to the Prince's Grace the VI day of *Sept.* M D XLV. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum ſolum. } 1545.

8. An Abridgement of *Polidore Virgil* of the Diviſers, *&c.* of Artes, by *T. Langley.* } 1546.

9. *Philip Gerard*'s Invective againſt ſtopping the free paſſage of the *Engliſh* Bible. 8vo. } 1547.

10. Certain Homilies or Sermons appoynted by the King's Majeſty to be redde by all Perſons, Vicars, or Curates, every Sondaye in their Churches where they have Cure. 4to. } 1543.

11. Articles to be enquired into in the Viſitation to be had within the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*, in the ſecond yere of the Reign of our moſt dred Sovereigne Lord *Edward* VI. by the Grace of God King of *England*, *Fraunce* and *Ireland*, Deffender of the Faith, and in the Yearth of the Church of *England*, and alſo of *Ireland* the ſupreme Hedde. 4to. } 1548.

12. Expedition into *Scotland* of the moſt worthy fortunate Prince *Edward* Duke of *Somerſet*, Uncle to our moſt noble Sovereign Lord *Edward* VI. *&c.* by way of Diarie, by *W. Paten.* } 1548.

13. Alcoran of the Barefoot-Fryars. 8vo. 1550.

14. *John*

14. *John Marbeck*'s Concordance of the Bible. fol. 1550.

15. *Hall*'s Chronicle. fol. 1550.

Beſides a number of Year-Books.

XVI. EDWARD WHITCHURCH. MDXXXIX.

He was alſo one of the King's Printers, and a famous one. We have mention'd him already in the laſt article, as having printed,

1. *Coverdale*'s New Teſtament *Lat.* & *Engl.*

2. The *Engliſh* Bible. fol. with *Rich. Grafton.*

The reſt of his Works are as follows;

3. Earl of *Purlilia*'s Precepts of War. *Engliſh'd* by *Philip Betham.* 8vo. } 1544.

4. A Treatiſe of Moral Philoſophy, containing the Sayings of the Wiſe, gathered and *Englyſhed* by *Wylliam Baldwyn.* *London*, Imprinted by *Edward Whitchurch*, the 10 day of *January.* 8vo. } 1547.

5. *Chriſt. Langton*'s Treatiſe of Naturals and Non-naturals, *&c.* 8vo. } 1547.

6. *Melancton* upon weighing & conſidering the Interim. *Engliſh'd* by *John Rogers.* 8vo. } 1548.

7. Paraphraſe on St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles and *Revelations*, by ſeveral hands. fol. } 1549.

8. The Booke of the Common Prayer and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church; after the uſe of the Church of *England.* Londini in Officina *Edouardi Whitchurch*, cum privilegio ad imprimendum ſolum. Anno Do. 1549, *Menſe Junii.* } 1549.

The

The King's Majeſtie by
the adviſe of his moſt dear Uncle the Lord Protector, & other his highneſs's Counſel, ſtrictly
chargeth & commaundeth, that no manner
of Perſon do ſell this preſent booke
bounde, above the price of ii Shyllynges & ii pence the piece. And
the ſame bounde in paſte or
in boordes, not above the
price of three Shyllynges & VIII
pence the
piece.
God ſave the King.

Imprinted at *London* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, at the
ſigne of the Sunne over againſt
the Conduyte by *Edward Whitchurch*,
the XXVI daye of *June*, the year of our Lord
1549.

9. Epiſtle of Conſolation and Advertiſement to the Duke of *Somerſet* before his troubles, and tranſlated by him in his Impriſonment. 8vo. } 1550.

10. *Edmund Allen*'s Catechiſm. 8vo. 1550.

11. Form of Common Prayer uſed at *Geneva*, with *Calvin*'s Catechiſm. 8vo. } 1550.

12. Paraphraſe on the Goſpels and Acts. *Engliſh'd* by *N. Udal*. fol. } 1550.

XVII. WILLIAM MIDDLETON. MDXXXIXI.

Richard Whitford, a Brother of *Sion*, his Treatiſe on Patience, and the Lets and Impediments to Perfection. 4to. Imprinted at *London* by me *Wylliam Middleton*. } 1541.

XVIII.

XVIII. JOHN MAYLER. MDXXXIXII.

1. A Sermon, that no Man can be hurt but by himſelf. 8vo. 1542.
2. Neceſſary Doctrine & Erudition for a Chriſten Man. By the King. 8vo. } 1543.

XIX. JOHN DAY. MDXXXIXVI.

He was a curious and diligent Printer; how ſoon he began to print is not eaſy to gueſs, becauſe I find ſeveral of his editions without date. He continued printing till the year 1575; however, I ſhall carry the liſt of his works no farther than 1550.

1. *R. Crowley*'s Confutation of *Nich. Saxton*, Biſhop of *Sarum*. 8vo. *London* } 1546.
2. A godly Meditation upon xx ſelect and choſen Pſalms of the Prophet *David*, *&c.* 4to. By Sir *Ant. Cope*. Dedicated to Quene *Catherine*. } 1547.
3. Heavenly Acts of Parliament made by Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, how Men ought to live. 8vo. } 1547.
4. *John Bancroft*'s tranſlation of the *Baſil* Preacher's Anſwer. By *J. Day* and *W. Seres*. } 1548.
5. Confutation of *Miles Hoggard*'s Ballads in defence of Tranſubſtantiation. 8vo. by *J. Day* and *W. Seres*. } 1548.
6. A ſimple and religious Conſultation about making a preſent Reformation till God ſend a better by a general Council, *&c.* } 1548.
7. *Fr. Lambert*'s Judgment againſt the Freedom of Man's Will. 8vo. } 1548.
8. *Rob. Hutton*'s Sum of Divinitie. 1548.
9. A Warning againſt the Anabaptiſts. 8vo. by *J. Day* and *W. Seres*. } 1549.
10. St. *Auſtin*'s 12 Steps to Abuſes, by *J. Day* and *W. Seres*. 1550.

11. An

11. An Apology of *Johan. Bale* agaynſte a rank Papiſt, anſwering both him and his Doctors, that neyther their Wowes, nor yet their Prieſthood, are of the Goſpel but of Antichriſt. 8vo. } 1550.

12. Homilies on the 6th of St. *John*. 8vo. 1550.

13. Confeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith, with reſpect to God, the King, *&c.* 4to. } 1550.

14. Expoſition of *Daniel*'s Prophecies out of *Melangton*, *&c.* 1550.

Without date.

1. Expoſtulation againſt a phrentic Papiſt of *Hamſhire*. 8vo.
2. *Baſil* the Great to *Gregory Nazianzen* about a Monaſtic Life.
3. 25 Sermons on Predeſtination. *Engliſh'd* by a Gentlewoman. 8vo.
4. Communication between a poor Man and his Wife, *&c.* 8vo.
5. Brief Exhortation in the time of Viſitation.
6. Auncient Teſtimonies about the Faith of the Church of *England* about the Sacrament. 8vo.
7. A verie familiare and fruitefull Expoſition of the Apoſtles Crede, made in Dialogues, wherein thou maiſte learne all Things neceſſarie to be beleved, Compyled by *Peter Viret* a *Frenchman*, and tranſlated into *Engliſhe*. 8vo.
8. *Thomas Norton*'s Warning againſt the dangerous practices of Papiſts, and ſpecially the Parteners of the late Rebellion. *Lond.* by *John Day*, no date, but ſuppoſed to be printed about the year 1549. 4to.

XX. JOHN HERTFORD. MDXXXIXVI.
at St. *Alban*'s.

He printed at firſt at St. *Alban*'s, and we have two editions of his printed there, one without date, and the other done in 1538, of which

we need not give any further account here. What I have been able to recover of his Works, after he removed to *London*, is as follows;

1. *Richard Smith*, D. D. Defence of the Sacrament of the Maſs. 8vo. *London.* } 1546.
2. *Stephen Gardner* Byſſhoppe of *Wyncheſter*'s Declaration of ſuch true Articles as *George Joye* has gone about to confute as falſe. 4to. } 1546.

Without date.

1. St. *Jerom*'s Expoſition. Printed at *London* in *Alderſgate-ſtreet*, by *John Hertforde* for *Robert Toy*.
2. The Epiſtles and Goſpels, in 4to. by *John Hertforde* in *Alderſgate-ſtreet*.

The following was printed by his Widdow.

The Cenſure and judgement of the famous Clark *Eraſmus* of *Roterodam*; whyther Dyvourſemente betwene Man and Wyfe ſtondeth with the law of God, with dyvers Cauſes wherefore it is permitted; with the mynde of the olde Doctours, *&c.* *London*, Prynted by the Wydowe of *John Hertforde* for *Robert Stoughton*, without date. 8vo.

XXI. ROBERT TOY. MDXXXIXVI.

1. *Stephen Gardner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Declaration of ſuch true Articles as *George Joy* hath gone about to confute as falſe. 4to. } 1546.
2. Detection of the Devil's Sophiſtry, *&c.* 8vo. 1546.
3. Of the Reſurrection of the Dead, and laſt Judgment, by *John Clarke.* 4to. } 1547.

Without date.

4. The Workes of *Geffray Chaucer* newly printed, with dyvers workes whiche were never in Print before.

Imprinted at *London* by *Robert Toy*. fol.

N. B.

N.B. There was afterwards a much fuller Edition of Chaucer's *Works publiſh'd by* John Stowe, *and printed by* John Kyngſton *for* John Wight, in 1561. fol.

XXII. NICHOLAS HILL. MDXLVI.

John Clark's Declaration of certain Articles and capital Errors, *&c.* 8vo. } 1546.

XXIII. WILLIAM SERES. MDXLVI.

WILLIAM SERES was a very eminent Printer, curious and correct; but he was much excell'd by his Succeſſor and Aſſignee *Henry Denham*, who kept the ſign of the *Star* in *Pater-Noſter-Row*, and became an extraordinary Maſter of his Art, not only for his wonderful Correctneſs, but for the beauty of his Types, whether *Greek*, *Roman*, *Italic*, or *Gothic*, of which he had a great variety of ſizes as neat and beautiful as any now in uſe. I have ſeen a Dictionary of his printed in 1580, under the title of An Alviarie (Beehive) or a quadruple Dictionarie in *Greek*, *Latin*, *French*, and *Engliſh*; which I think a maſterpiece of art for beauty and correctneſs, as well as great rarity for its order, method, and diſpoſition, it being the only one of that kind I ever met with.

As for *William Seres* he lived without *Alderſgate*, and went partner in ſome works with *John Day*, and in ſome with *Ant. Scholoker*; as the liſt of his works doth ſhew, which is as follows.

1. *Robert Crowley*'s Confutation of *Shaxton*'s Recantation. Printed by *W. Seres* & *J. Day*. } 1546.
2. *Bancroft*'s Tranſlation of the *Baſil* Divines on the Lord's Supper. By ditto } 1548.
3. Confutation of *Miles Hoggard*'s Ballad in defence of Tranſubſtantiation. By ditto. } 1548.
4. *Peter Viret*'s Collection of Scriptures which explain the Lord's Prayer. 8vo. By *Seres* & *A. Scholoker*. } 1548.

5. A Warning againſt the Anabaptiſts. 8vo. with *Day*. 1549.
6. St. *Auſtin*'s 12 Steps to Abuſes, *&c.* 8vo. ditto. 1550.

Without date.

7. The Tryal, Examination, & Death of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*. 8vo. with *A. Scholoker*.
8. Private Prayers for every Day of the Week, firſt printed in King *Edward*'s days. 8vo.
9. The right Inſtitution of Baptiſm, by *Herman* Archbp. of *Cologne*. By *Anthony Scholoker* & *Wyllyam Seres*, dwelling wythout *Alderſgate*.

XXIV. REYNOLD WOLF. MDXLVII.

He was choſen Printer to the King (*Edward* IV.) for the *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin* tongues. His Patent, which is extant in *Rymer's Fœdera*, 15 Vol. p. 150, is dated from *Weſtminſter*, *April* 19, 1547. But I have not been able to meet with any thing done by him in any of thoſe learned languages. His other works are as follows.

1. Dr. *Smith*'s Declaration upon his Retraction at St. *Paul's Croſs*. 8vo. } 1547.
2. A Deffence for Marriage of Prieſts by Scripture and auncient Writers, *before the* Biſhop of Rome *by his wicked decrees ordeined the contrary*; made by *John Pouel*, Doctour of Divinite. Imprinted at *London*, by *Reynold Wolf*. Cum ſereniſſimi Regis privilegio. 8vo. } 1549.
3. Ant. Corvinus's Poſtils on the Goſpels of Sundays & Holy-days. 4to. } 1550.
4. *Coverdale*'s New Teſtament conferr'd with that of *W. Tindal*. 8vo. } 1550.
5. Defence of the Catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood, *&c.* 4to. } 1550.
6. Injunctions of *Nicholas Ridley* Biſhop of *London* to his Dioceſe. 4to. } 1550.

With-

Without date.

1. Advertiſements partly for the order of publick prayer, and partly for regulating the Miniſters apparel. 4to.
2. An Anſwer to Doctour *Smith*'s Calumnyes in his confutation of the ſaid book. 8vo.

XXV. WILLIAM POWEL. MDXLVII.

At the ſygne of the *George*, next to St. *Dunſtan*'s Church, in *Fleet-ſtreet*.

1. A Treatiſe of Juſtification by Faith, tranſlated by *Nich. Leſſe*. 8vo. } 1547.
2. The Fall of the late *Arrian*. 8vo. 1549.
3. The Voice of the People againſt ſuch Parſons, as fly away from their Cures. 8vo. } 1549.
4. St. *Auguſtin* to *Pollentius* againſt adulterous Marriages. 8vo. 1550.
5. *Anto. Aſcham*'s Treatiſe of Aſtronomy, and of Medicines under each planet. 8vo. } 1550.
6. Proverbs or Adagies gathered out of the *Chiliades* of *Eraſmus*, by *Richard Taverner*, as well *Latyn* proverbs as *Englyſhe*. *London*, Imprinted by *Willyam Powel* XX day of *April*. *anno* MDL. } 1550.
7. The A B C ſet forth by the King's Majeſty (*Hen.* viij) & his Clergy, & commanded to be taught out all his Realm, and all other utterly ſet apart, as the Teachers thereof tender his Grace's favour. 8vo. *London*, by *Willyam Powell*. without date.

XXVI. HUMPHREY POWEL. MDXLVIII.

1. The Harveſt is at hand. By *John Champneis*. 8vo. 1548.
2. The Sin & abominable Blaſphemy of the Maſs. 8vo. 1548.

3. *John*

3. *John Proctor*'s Fall of the late *Arrian*. 8vo. 1549.
4. The ordinary faſhion of good living. 8vo. no date.

XXVII. GUALTER LINNE. MDLXVIII.

1. *Richard Bonner*'s Treatiſe of worſhipping Chriſt in the Sacrament. 8vo. } 1548.
2. Archbp. *Cranmer*'s Catechiſm. 8vo. 1548.
3. *Urban. Regis* Epiſtle to his friend about the cauſes of Church Controverſy. 8vo. } 1548.
4. *Bern. Ochinus*'s Dialogue of the unjuſt Supremacy of the Pope. 4to. } 1549.
5. *Peter Martyr*'s Epiſtle to the Duke of *Somerſet*. 8vo. 1550.
6. *John Ponet*'s Sermon before the King. 8vo. 1550.

XXVIII. WILLIAM HILL. MDXLVIII.

1. *Heron. Bodin*'s Collection out of St. *Auſtin* de Eſſent. Divinitatis. 8vo. } 1548.
2. The Endightement of Mother Maſs, by way of Dialogue. 8vo. } 1548.
3. The Soul's ſolace againſt Sickneſs & Death. 8vo. 1548.
4. Sum of the H. Scripture about Xtian Faith, Baptiſm, & goſpel-life. 8vo. } 1548.

XXIX. THOMAS RAYNOLD. MDXLVIII

1. Declaration of God's power in the Sacrament againſt the Maſs. 8vo. } 1548.
2. Leſſon of the Incarnation of J. Chriſt. 8vo. 1549.
3. The Bible tranſlated by *Tho. Mathews*, *anno* 1537, & new imprinted by *Tho. Raynold* & *Will. Hyll*. } 1549.
4. *John Mardey*'s Inſtructions to the Rich and Covetous. 8vo.

Ad-

Addenda to the Article of GRAFTON.

We are ſince inform'd that the Edition of the New Teſtament *againſt which* Tyndal *juſtifyes himſelf in the Preface mentioned* pag 370. *was a third Edition privately printed under his name in the ſame year and place by* Joyce, *and deſignedly corrupted, in order to make him paſs for a Heretick, as he ſhows in that Preface, which was the occaſion of his publiſhing this ſecond Edition in the ſame year.*

XXX. ANTHONY SCHOLOKER. MDXLVIII.

1. Sermon on the Keys & Abſolution. *Engliſh'd* at *Ipſwich.* 8vo. 1548.
2. *Zuingliu* 's Inſtructions of Youth. ibid. 8vo. 1548.
3. *Scholoker*'s Tranſlation of *Peter Viret*'s Collection of Scripture-places explaining the Lord's Prayer. 8vo. with *W. Seres.* } 1548.
4. *John Olde* of the old Faith of *Great Britain.* 8vo.
5. *Pyor*'s Plowman's Exhortation unto the Lordes, Knightes & Burgoyſſes of the Parlyment-houſe. *Lond. temp. Ed.* VI.

XXXI. ROBERT STOUGHTON. MDXLVIII.

1. Two Epiſtles of *Henry Bullinger*, and two of *Calvin* about aſſiſting at the Maſs. 8vo. } 1548.
2. *Urban. Regius*'s Compariſon between old and new Learning. 8vo. } 1548.
3. The Cenſure and Judgement of the famous Clark *Eraſmus* of *Roterdam*; whyther Dyvourſement betwene Man and Wyfe ſtondeth with the law of God, with dyvers Cauſes wherefore it is permitted; with the mynde of the olde Doctoures, *&c.*
4. *Peter Martyr*'s Judgment of the Lord's Supper. 4to.

XXXII. RO-

XXXII. ROBERT CROWLEY. MDXLIX.

an Author and Printer.

1. Voice of the Trumpet, containing 12 Leſſons for 12 ſeveral eſtates in meter. } 1549.
2. A New Year's Gift, wherein is taught the knowledge of God, of our ſelf, and the fear of God, worthy to be geven and thankefully receyved by all Chriſten men. } 1549.
3. Pſalter of *David*. 1549.
4. Voice of the Trumpet, *&c.* 1550.
5. Battery of the Pope's Boteveux, or the high Altar. 8vo. 1550.
6. The Way to Wealth, teaching a moſt preſent remedy for ſedition. Wrytten and imprinted by *R. Crowley. Lond.* } 1550.
7. Lady *Eliz. Fane*'s Pſalms and goodly Meditations, with 102 Proverbs. } 1550.
8. Prologue for the underſtanding of the Bible. *It is by Crowley intitled the Pathway to Knowledge.* 8vo. } 1550.
9. An Information and Petition againſt the Oppreſſion of the pore Commons of this Realme, *&c.* to the Parliament. no date.

XXXIII. WILLIAM TILLY. MDXLIX.

Coverdale's Teſtament. By *Wylliam Tilly*, dwellynge in St. *Anne* & *Agnes* Pariſhe at *Aldriſhgate*. } 1549.

XXXIV. RICHARD KELE. MDXLVX.

1. Tranſlation of a *Dutch* Prognoſtication out of the Script. and Proph. 8vo. *London, Rycharde Kele.* } 1549.
2. Image of Both Paſtors, by *Zuinglius*. 8vo. By *Richard Kele* & *W. Seres*. } 1550.
3. Expoſition on the Epiſtle of St. *Jude*. 8vo.

4. Mir-

4. Mirrour or glaſs of Helth, 8vo. nedeful for every perſon to loke in that wyll kepe their Body from the Sykeneſſe of the Peſtylence, and it ſhoweth how the planets do raygne.

XXXV. ANDREW HESTER. MDL.

The *Engliſh* Bible corrected and reviſed by *Miles Coverdale*. 4to. 1550.

XXXVI. JOHN CAWOOD. MDL.

John Cawode or *Cawood*.——I can find but one of his works extant, tho' he was appointed by the King to print the Patents. His Patent is in *Rymer's Fœdera*, and the Book is,

A ſpiritual and moſt precious perle, *&c.* Dedicated to *Edward* Duke of *Somerſet*. A moſt fruitfull Treatiſe of behaviour in the danger of Death. *Somerſet-Place*, 6 *May*, 1550.

XXXVII. RICHARD JUGGE. MDL.

1. *Tertullian*'s 2d. Book to his Wife about the choice of a Husband and Wife. 8vo. } 1550.
2. The New Teſtament of King *Edward* VI.
3. Whether it be mortal ſin to tranſgreſs the Civil Laws, with the judgement of *Melangton* and other Divines thereupon. 8vo.

XXXVIII. RICHARD CHARLTON. MDL.

A Treatiſe of all the Arguments of the Old and New Teſtament. 8vo. } 1550.

XXXIX. STEPHEN MIERMAN. MDL.

The Market or Fair of Uſurers, a new Paſquil or Dialogue againſt Uſury, *&c.* 8vo. *Lond.* by *Steph. Mierman.* } 1550.

XL. JOHN TISDALE.

Sermons on *Jonas*. 8vo.
Abridgment of *Polydore Virgil*. } 1550.

Besides theſe we meet with a Patent in *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XIV. pag. 745, granted to *Stephen Merlar* for the ſole printing the *Engliſh* Bible. It is dated at *Weſtminſter*, *March* 12. *an.* 1542. but I never could meet with this Bible, nor any other of his works. I found moreover about half a ſcore more who printed for, or under ſome of the more eminent maſters above mentioned, ſome of whoſe works have dates, and others not, beſide a very conſiderable number of other anonymous editions, not worth ſwelling this liſt with.

The City of *YORK*. MDXVI.

I have ſeen in the late Mr. *Rawlinſon*'s library the following edition printed at *York*, viz.

Whyttintonus de Concinnat. Grammat. & Conſtruct. 4*to. Eboraci* 1516.

This is the only one I have ſeen or heard of printed there ſo early, and did not the Types convince me of its being an ancient piece, I ſhould have thought that the date had been miſprinted, *i. e.* 1516 for 1616.

At *CAMBRIDGE*. MDXXI.

This Univerſity ſeems to have given but ſmall encouragement to the Art of Printing, either by the earlineſs of its reception, or the continuance of it there. Mr. *Maittaire* tells us that he has not been able to meet with any thing printed there of earlier date than 1521, and all that either he, the late Mr. *Bagford*, or any of my correſpondents from thence have been able to procure, is only four editions, all printed in the ſame year, by *John Siberch*, and one in 1522 without Printer's name, though probably done by him. This *Siberch* uſed to put the King's-arms to the title of his books, and to ſtyle himſelf in ſome of them, *Primus utriuſq; linguæ in* Anglia *impreſſor*, meaning *Greek* and *Latin*.

Theſe

Theſe Editions are as follows;

1. Libellus de conſcribendis Epiſtolis Autore *D. Eraſmo* opus olim ab eodem cæptum, ſed primâ manu, mox expoliri cæptum ſed intermiſſum, Nunc primum prodit in lucem.
Apud præclaram *Cantabrigienſem* Academiam.
Cum gratiâ & privilegio.
At the End,
Impreſſum Cantabrigiæ *per* Joannem Siberch,
Anno M D XXI. *menſe* Octobri.
It is dedicated by *J. Siberch*, *Cantabrigienſis Typographus* to *J. Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. } 1521.

2. *Henry Bullock*'s Oration againſt Cardinal *Wolſey*, by ditto. ib. 1521.

3. Lepidiſſimum.
Luciani opuſculum περὶ ἀφώνων
Henrico Bulloco interprete
Oratio ejuſdem cum annotationibus marginalibus
Ex præclara Academiâ *Cantabrigienſi* An. M D XXI.
At the End,
Impreſſum eſt hoc opuſculum Cantabrigiæ *per* Joannem Siberch, &c.

4. Galeni de temperamentis & de inequali intemperie libri tres. Thoma Linacro Anglo interprete. 4to. *per* Jo. Siberch, *apud præclaram* Cantabrigiam. } 1521.

5. Papyrii Gemini *Eleatis* Hermathena, ſeu de Eloquentiæ victoria. 4to. ex præclara *Cantabrigiâ*. } 1522.

Taviſtock in *Devonſhire*. M D XXV.

The Boke of Confort called in laten *Boetius* de conſolatione philoſophie. Tranſlated into *Engleſſe* tonge.

At the End thus,

Here endeth the boke of Confort called in latyn *Boecius* de conſolatione phil. Emprented in the exempt Monaſtery of *Taveſtok* in *Denſhyre*

by me *Thomas Rychard* Monk of the ſaid Monaſtery. To the inſtant deſyre of the ryght worſhypful Eſquyer Mayſter *Robert Langdon*,

Anno D' M D XXV.

Deo gratias

Robertus ⊔ *Langdon.*

This is ſuppoſed to have been Eſq; *Langdon*'s Mark.

JOHN OSWIN at *Ipſwich* and *Worceſter*. M D XLVIII.

1. Mind or Opinion what a Xtian ought to do that duells with the Papiſts. 8vo. By *John Oſwin* at *Ipſwich*. } 1548.
2. *Chriſtopher Hegendorphine*'s houſhold Sermons. *Engliſh'd* at *Ipſwich*. 8vo. } 1548.
3. Of the true Authority of the Church. ibid. 16°. 1548.
4. *John Ecolampadius*'s Epiſtle againſt reſpect to perſons. 16°. ibid. } 1548.
5. Invective againſt Drunkenneſs. ibid. no date.
6. *Hegendorphine*'s houſhold Sermons. 8vo. at *Worceſter*. 1549.
7. The Book of Common Prayer, *&c.* fol. ibid. 1549.
8. Spiritual Matrimony between Xt and his Church. 16°. ibid. 1549.
9. Conſolatory for all Xtians. 8vo. ibid. 1549.
10. Dialogue between the ſeditious Anabaptiſt and the true Xtian about Obedience to Magiſtrates, *&c.* 8vo. ibid. } 1550.
11. Short Pathway to underſtand the Scriptures. *Engliſh'd* by *John Vernon*. 8vo. ibid. } 1550.
12. St. *Ambroſe* of Oppreſſion. Tranſlated by *John Oſwin*; intitled Poor *Naboth* oppreſſed by rich *Ahab*. no place's name.

JOHN

JOHN MYCHEL.

THOUGH this Printer put no dates to theſe few Editions of his I have been able to meet with, yet they ſeem both by the language, types, *&c.* to be older by much than 1550.

1. Two Dialogues of *Eraſmus* in *Engliſh*. Tranſlated by *Ed. Beke*. 8vo. Emprynted by me *John Mychel*, dwellynge in St. *Paules* Paryſh in *Canterbury*. 8vo.

2. *Randal Hurleſton*'s Dialogue againſt the Papiſts. 8vo. at *Canterbury*.

3. *Lan. Ridley* of *Canterbury*'s Expoſition of the Epiſtle to the *Philippians*. 8vo.

N. B. I deſigned to have enlarged this Catalogue with the compleat liſt of all the curious editions of the moſt ancient Printers, ſuch as printed only from Manuſcripts, as I have ſeen in my Lord *Pembroke*'s library, *&c.* but am glad to find that Mr. *Maittaire* has been beforehand with me in favouring the world with it in his *Annales Typographici*.

IN the concluſion of the ſecond book of this Hiſtory, pag. 257. I ventur'd to affirm after *Orlandi* and other Annaliſts, that the invention of ingraving began much about the ſame time with that of Printing; but I have been ſince convinced, that the former began much earlier, from a curious collection which my Lord *Pembroke* was pleaſed to ſhow me, in which the whole progreſs of that invention is ſet down in writing under each print. Having therefore obtain'd his Lordſhip's leave to copy it from his own book, and to give it a place in this work, I think I cannot better conclude this Hiſtory than by obliging the curious with this valuable collection.

AN

APPENDIX

To the GENERAL HISTORY of

PRINTING of BOOKS:

BEING AN

ADDITIONAL HISTORY

OF THE

RISE and PROGRESS of *PRINTS*,

Which are Incus'd.

Exactly copy'd from the R. H. the Earl of *Pembroke*'s curious Book of thoſe PRINTS, in which each Piece hath its own particular account of its manner, &c. in Manuſcript, in a right progreſſive order, as follows.

1. ANTONIO POLLAIOLOLO nat. 1426. ob. 1498. *Baldinucci* ſays that he engraved the Battle at *Florence* about 1460, and that *Andrea Montegna* graved his Triumph at *Rome* ſoon after his being there. They both graved upon Pewter. The former printed his name on it thus, *Opus Antonij Pollaiololo Florentini.*

2. *Iſrael van Meckenem* his own Effigies.

3. This

3. This *Iſrael van Meckenem* is by ſome authors called *Van Mecklin* & *Mentz* & *Moguntin*. *Lomazero* ſays he was the firſt that engraved; he was Maſter to *Bon Martino*, who was Maſter to *Albert Durer*, whoſe firſt Print was a Copy after this of *Iſrael*'s *an.* 1497. and as *Baldinucci* ſays *Iſrael* did not engrave till he had ſeen the Triumph of *Ant. Montegno*, *anno* 1467, which is the oldeſt date that any author has mention'd, and the termination being *Spaniſh*, ſhows that the art ſpread very ſoon.

4. *A. M.* was, as is ſuppoſed, *Andrea de Murano* 1412. This Print is upon that mixt metal on which Goldſmiths uſed to engrave their firſt proofs. It is now likewiſe uſed by other artiſts. Founders call it the hard metal, and Printers the Type-metal, tho' the latter has a greater proportion of Iron. The other materials are Lead, Block-tin, and Regulus of Antimony. *Albert Durer* began by copying of old Prints, as you will ſee when you come to him; this Print is older than that of 1467, which ſtands by it, which was taken to be the oldeſt of any one with a date by the author, who mentions this for want of knowing of that. As for the year 1412 above-mention'd it agrees with the time in which *A. de Murano* flouriſh'd; and *Baldinucci* ſpeaks in one place as if other authors were uncertain how near 1400 the invention of Prints was. Yet he ſeems to ſay that *Maſo Finiguerri* was not long before *Pollaiololo*, who follow'd *Baccio Baldini*, who imitated *Maſo* the inventor of Prints, by taking off ſome from engraved ſilver work to ſee the impreſſion: but, unleſs he did ſo ſome years before, this Print muſt be older.

5. *Andrea Montegna* N. 1431. *an.* 1517. The next after *Pollaiololo* who engraved in *Italy*. His beſt works were after the Antique. But this firſt is none of the nine which he compoſed from the Antiques.

6. The ſixth in order of his painting. This is his original Print; they have ſince finiſhed (within theſe outlines) the Prints that are commonly ſold for it.

7. Thi was printed when they uſed the ſmoke of a candle inſtead of mp-black ink.

8. *Mich.*

8. *Mich. Angelo* on ſilk. This is only from a drawing, the painting of which has much more in it, and is to be ſeen in my Lord's Gallery. This is the firſt Print that is not upon Paper.

9. The *Suavius* was the firſt Print done on two Copper-plates. This Print, beſides the blue ground, has the figure of old *Time* clipping *Cupid*'s wings. After this *Perrier* did engrave this, and then the five more on three Copper-plates, as *Carpi* did upon wood.

10. The Head of *Lutma* the Father, done with the hammer; the black and white diſpoſed contrary to Mezotinto. *Per Janum Lutma.*

11. In this *John Lutma* has added graving to the hammering.

12. *Jacobus Lutma* mixed etching with engraving.

13. *Venus* and *Mavors* (*Mars*) by *Joannes Collaert.*
This is the only Print that ever was graved on Steel.

14. *Dominico Campagnola*, the firſt that printed with red on a black ground.

15. This manner, which was invented in *Germany*, differs from all Prints, becauſe the ink riſes upon the paper.

16. This, done by *J. S.* (as in the ſhield) came from *Venice*; the lines are not engraved, but made by Points.

17. Four Mezotinto's varying from the common manner of thoſe Prints. In this the figure (our Saviour on the Croſs) is engraved, the reſt is done in Mezotinto, the other three are each in a different colour.

18. Mr. *Tayler* a Painter, who improved the printing of Stuffs in *Holland*, he invented this Art of printing in colours; and Mr. *Le Blond* (though he might take the hint from this) has further improved it by printing his pieces ſo as to look like painting; the firſt that he did in this kind was after the *Baroccio* in my Lord *Pembroke*'s gallery.

19. The firſt Print of *Martin Schön*, (*al. Chon*, as the *French* write and pronounce it) and called *Bon Martino* by the *Italians*, *Bon* being a kind of a tranſlation of *Schön*; which in the *High-German* ſignifies *fine*

beau-

beautiful. *Martin* was Maſter to *Albert Durer*, but learned his Art at firſt by copying after the Print next to it of *Iſrael van Meckenem.*

20. *Iſrael van Meckenem.* This is the only one of his that has the place's name, *viz.* *Tzù* (at) *Boackholt.*

21. The firſt Print of *Albert Durer* 1497, which is a Copy after *Iſrael's.* He engraved this alſo upon Pewter.

Albert Durer nat. 1470, *ob.* 1528, was famous for cutting on Wood, and all other manners of ingraving, as may be ſeen by theſe four that follow, *viz.*

1ſt. Engraved on Pewter, which was his firſt manner.

2d. Cut on Wood, and on three planches.

3d. Engraved on Copper, in which he was the firſt and the beſt, and was imitated by *Mark Antonio.*

4th. Etched, being the firſt of that kind.

22. *Maſo Finiguerra*, a Goldſmith at *Florence*, the inventer of Prints, tho' he made no Print till after *A. Pollaiololo.* *Albert Durer* copy'd this ſo as to ſtand the ſame way as the Original. They ſtand each by the other in the book.

23. *Albert Durer* made this piece in imitation of the oldeſt Print, which was graved, *anno* 1412.

24. This bears the oldeſt date of all his, whether on Wood or Copper.

This is alſo dated 1502, but the mark differs from his uſual mark.

25. If *Hugo Carpi* was the inventor of Printing upon three planches, he muſt have been very young; for he was but 18 years old when *A. Durer* did this in 1522, which is the Head of *Ulricus Varnbuler* very large from three planches, with his own name to it *Albert Durer.*

26. The firſt Print etch'd upon Iron by *A. Durer.*

27. Another of his of *anno* 1518, in which he perfected the Art of etching on Iron, even before *Parmigiano*; tho' this laſt in *Italy* is affirmed to have been the firſt Etcher.

28. *Albert Durer* before his he uſed a mark, the manner of this is that of his Maſter.

29. The firſt Print on Copper by *A. Durer*, with his mark before he began to date; this is his firſt manner.

30. This is without croſs-ſtrokes; *Melaine*'s manner is a fine improvement of this.

31. This piece is dated 1502, and bears the oldeſt date either on Copper or Wood.

32. One of 1504. This *Adam* and *Eve* were the chief of his laſt manner, vaſtly neat, and imitated by *Marc Antonio* in *Germany*. This is reckoned more ſcarce than his St. *Jerom*.

33. The St. *Jerom*. This the *Bolonia* edition of *Vaſari* calls *La Maraviglia*, or the prodigy of Art.

34. The laſt piece that *Durer* engrav'd. It is the head of *Eraſmus*, and is dated 1526.

35. A Crucifix engraved on a golden head of the Emperor's Cane. It was ſold for 150 Gilders, and is the only Print taken from Gold; that of *An. Caracci* is only from a ſilver ſalver. My Lord has it: there is but this one Print of it, which he took off as a proof before it was gilt.

36. The famous Bag-piper by *Lucas van Leyden*. This is the Original, which was ſold for 60 Duccatoons. The Copy, which ſtands next to it, is pretty ſcarce. Theſe two, and that on the gold cane, were on one Cartoon in the *Arundel* Collection.

N. B. Incuſed is the proper term to ſignify thoſe plates which bear the ink between the lines of the graving, as *excuſed* is of thoſe that have it on the face of the line. Thus the prints in the *Paginæ Conglutinatæ* were *excuſed*, but thoſe of *Albert Durer incuſed*, he being the firſt inventor of this manner, as being cheaper, and eaſier cut than upon copper.

The

The following is a Liſt of XVI Volumes of DRAWINGS and PRINTS in the ſame Library relating to the ſame ſubject as the former, and copy'd from the Manuſcript-Titles of the Books themſelves.

THESE DRAWINGS and PRINTS conſiſt but of a very few, in compariſon of many numerous collections; for here are chiefly *Italian* deſigns, and only one of each maſter, to ſee the variety of manners, except of the moſt noted *Italian* maſters a pretty many, and all of ſuch *Italian* Painters, as alſo themſelves graved, etched, or cut in Wood: of original Drawings here are but two volumes of 220; *Italian* Painters (except a few who were alſo eſteem'd in *Italy*) in a chronological order. The 1ſt Vol. has 200 Painters, one of each; the 2d Vol. has 20 of the chief Painters, of each five, but of *Rafael Urbin* and *Correggio* 20 of each. As to Prints, *Marolles* had more than 50 times as many. In his 1ſt book he ſays he had above 120,000; and in his 2d he added about 50,000 more. (The King of *France* has ſince bought them). But he gathered all, and of all ſorts that he could find, well or ill preſerv'd: as for intire books graved, there are very many, but here are only thoſe of *Italian* Painters, antiquities excepted; as for looſe Prints, only 14 volumes, as follows.

IN the firſt 4 volumes of Prints are above 1500, each by a different maſter, ending with *Edelinck*, *Andran*, and their diſciples, engraving and etching being brought to perfection by them.

Vol. III. but the firſt of PRINTS.

Part I. The Introduction comprehends the firſt inventors of all the different manners, many of them now diſus'd, or the Art loſt.

Part II. Gravers, all of *Italian* Pictures.

Vol. IV.

Part 1. Etchers,
2. Cut on Wood, } all of *Italian* Pictures.
3. Mezotinto,

Vol. V.

Gravers by Pictures of other nations not *Italian*.

Vol. VI.

Part 1. Etchers,
2. Cut in Wood,
3. Mezotinto,
} by Pictures of other nations not *Italian*.

Vol. VII.

The 17 chief Gravers, their principal Prints all after *Italian* Paintings of *Rafael Urbin*, and all that they graved.

Vol. VIII.

23 Etchers, who were alſo Painters; and at the end are all that *Ang. Caracci* graved, the other two *Caracci*'s being in this book.

Vol. IX.

12 More noted Etchers who were alſo Painters; moſt of theſe are famous for Landſkips, and ſome alſo for little figures.

Vol. X.

The 5 chief Artiſts who cut in Wood, and only after great *Italian* Painters, all that they did both ſingle, and as intire books.

Vol. XI.

All theſe are after *Rafael Urbin* by many Gravers and Etchers, different from thoſe before-mention'd, at the end of which are many Drawings by *Santo Bartholi*, after ſuch of *Rafael*'s Pictures as were never graved, he intending, had he liv'd, to have graved them, they were ſold by his Widow. Of *Raphael* and the following three, here are collections of ſingle Prints alſo, the other great Painters have been graved chiefly in entire books.

Vol.

Vol. XII.

All theſe are after *Correggio*, both ſingle Prints, and as entire books.

Vol. XIII.

All theſe are after *Guido Rheni* of ſingle Prints.

Vol. XIV.

All theſe are after *Barocci:* but the 2d part is of the *Arundel* collection, only of the *Italian* hiſtorical Pictures or Drawings.

Vol. XV. in two parts.

The heads of *Vandyke*, both thoſe which he etched himſelf, and that were done by others, of which here are above 300. Part I. hath 100 of them, 19 of which are etched by *Vandyke*, the reſt of the 100 are of M. *Vander Enden*.

Vol. XVI.

Single Prints of Antiquities, and chiefly thoſe by *Lafreri*, being by the largeſt ſcale, as well as before they were mended, and ſome are alſo as mended, by which one may compare what parts were truly antique; I have alſo the book of *Lafreri* with the Title-page, but tho' ſcarce, and of an old date, yet after theſe, ſome body got an imperfect collection of ſome of his Plates, and mix'd them with others of leſs value.

Theſe Volumes of DRAWINGS *and* PRINTS *my Lord tells me were collected by his Father, except ſome few, agreeable to his deſign, which were afterwards added by my Lord himſelf, eſpecially ſuch as related to the origine of Prints.*

AN

AN

ALPHABETICAL and CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Of all the CITIES and PLACES in which the

ART of PRINTING

Began to be exerciſed before the Year 1500, and in ENGLAND to 1550.

The firſt Number is the Date of their firſt known Edition, and the ſecond is the Page in which they are mention'd.

A.

	an.	pag.
ABBEVILLE	1486	252
Alban St.	1486	327
Aloſt	1487	215
Amberg	1471	191
Angouleſme	1493	256
Antwerp	1485	250
Aquila	1482	245
Argentina, al. *Stratzburg* & *Argentoratum*	1458	183, 299
Auguſta Vindelicorum, alias *Ausburgh*	1466	121
Avignon	1497	257

B.

	an.	pag.
BAMBERG	1499	257
Barcelona	1494	256
Baſil	1475	216
Bergamo	1498	257
Boiſleduc	1487	253
Bolonia	1471	186
Breſcia	1474	214
Brudges	1477	231
Bruſſels	1478	242

C.

C.

	an.	pag.
CAEN, al. *Cadomus*	1480	243
Cambridge	1521	386
Canterbury	1550	389
Ceulen	1480	243
Colle	1471	191
Cologn	1470	178
Coſcence	1478	242
Cremona	1485	250

D.

DAVENTER, alias *Deventria*	1472	209
Delft	1477	232
Dole	1492	255

E.

ERFORD	1482	245
Eſling	1475	228
Eychſtadt	1488	253

F.

FERRARA	1471	197
Florence	1471	193
Friburg	1493	256

G.

GAETA	1488	254
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Geneva	1478	242
Genoa, *Janua*	1474	213
Gentia, *Genzano*	1480	243
Goude	1479	243
Granada, *Grenata*	1496	256

H.

HAGENAW	1489	254
Harlem	1485	250
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Heidelbergh	1485	251
Herbipolis, *Wortzburgh*	1481	240
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I.

INGOLSTADT	1492	255
Ipſwich	1548	388

L.

LANGRES	1482	245
Leipſick, *Lipſia*	1484	249
Leiden	1497	257
Ligniz	1481	244
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Lubeck	1475	230
Luneburg	1493	256
Lyons, *Lugdunum*	1477	233
Lypſwick, *vid.* Leipſick		

M.

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Magdeburgh	1494	ib.
Mantua	1472	208
Memmining	1483	246
MENTZ, *Moguntia*	1457	71 & ſeq. 115 & ſeq.
Meſſina	1486	252

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	an.	pag.
Milan, *Mediolanum*	1470	180
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Modena	1488	253
Mountferrat	1496	256
Mount Real, or Royal	1481	244
Munſter, *Monaſterium*	1486	252

N.

NAPLES, *Neapolis*	1471	191
Nurembergh, *Norimberga*	1472	199

O.

OXFORD	1468	321

P.

PADUA, *Patavium*	1472	209
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Paris	1469	165
Parma	1472	207
Pavia	1478	242
Pignerol	1475	228
Piſa	1482	245
Placentia	1475	228
Provinz	1497	257

Q.

QUILAMBOURG	1480	243

R.

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Rimino, *Riminium*	1486	252
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S.

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Soncino	1484	246
Spire, *Norimagium*	1477	232
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T.

TAVISTOCK	1525	387
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Toledo	1486	252
Toulouſe	1488	253
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Tubingen	1488	253
Turin, *Taurinum*	1474	213
Turon, Gall. *Tours*	1467	139

V.

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Venice	1461	140
Verona	1472	206
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Vienna, *Vindebona*	1484	250
Vincentia	1475	229

U.

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Urbino	1414	250
Utrecht, *Ultra-trajectum*	1473	212

W.

WARTZBURGH, *Vid. Herbipolis*		
Weſtminſter	1474	327
Worceſter	1548	388
YORK	1516	386
ZWOL	1479	243

FINIS.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM